

Taw Sein Ko
ASI
1910

EXCAVATIONS AT HMAWZA NEAR
PROME.

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THE excavations extended over the three open seasons of 1907-8, 1908-9, and 1909-10, the locality having been first visited by me in 1906-7 in company with the late General de Beylié of Cochin China, whose death was a serious loss to Indo-Chinese archæology.¹ In 1907-8, the following sites were excavated:—1st Zegu Pagoda (East), 2nd Pogaungkangōn, 3rd Thaungbyegōn, 4th Monthèmagōn and 5th Lèbaw. In the following season I was on leave, and the excavations were continued by my *locum tenens*, Maung Po Thaung, B.C.E., K.S.M., Assistant Engineer, who exposed the West Zegu Pagoda and cleared the jungle on the Palace site. In 1909-10, the work was resumed under my supervision, and fresh ground was opened at the Singyidaing Pagoda, Kanthonzindaung, and the Atwin Mōktaw Pagoda.

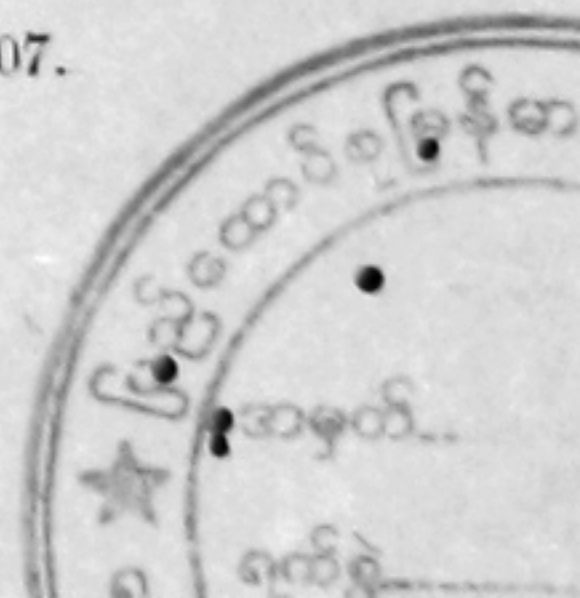
Hmawza or Yathemyo (the City of the Rishi) which has been identified with the Śrī-kshētra of the Burmese Chronicles, is situated about 5 miles to the east of Prome. According to tradition, it was founded by King Duttabaung, 101 years after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha, that is, in the year 443 B.C. (in accordance with the Burmese method of reckoning).² In the native annals it is stated that the city was surrounded by a circuit wall with thirty-two large and twenty-three small gates, and was filled with splendid buildings, including three royal palaces with handsome gilt spires. About the beginning of the second century of the Christian era, the town was abandoned and fell into ruin, but the remains of massive walls, constructed with well-burnt bricks, 18 inches long by 9 wide and 3 thick, and of embankments and pagodas attest that, where seven or eight villages now stand in rice fields and swamps, intersected here and there by patches and strips of brushwood, there was once a large city, the capital of a flourishing and powerful kingdom.

Cononel Gerini³ identifies Śrī-kshētra, with the Mareura Metropolis of Ptolemy, who is reputed to have published his 'Geography' about 140 A.D. In the 7th

¹ Cf. L. de Beylié, *Prome et Samara. Voyage archéologique en Birmanie et en Mésopotamie*, Paris 1907. (Publications de la Société française des fouilles archéologiques I.)

² Cf. de Beylié, *op. cit.* p. 79.

³ *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, pp. 66 ff.

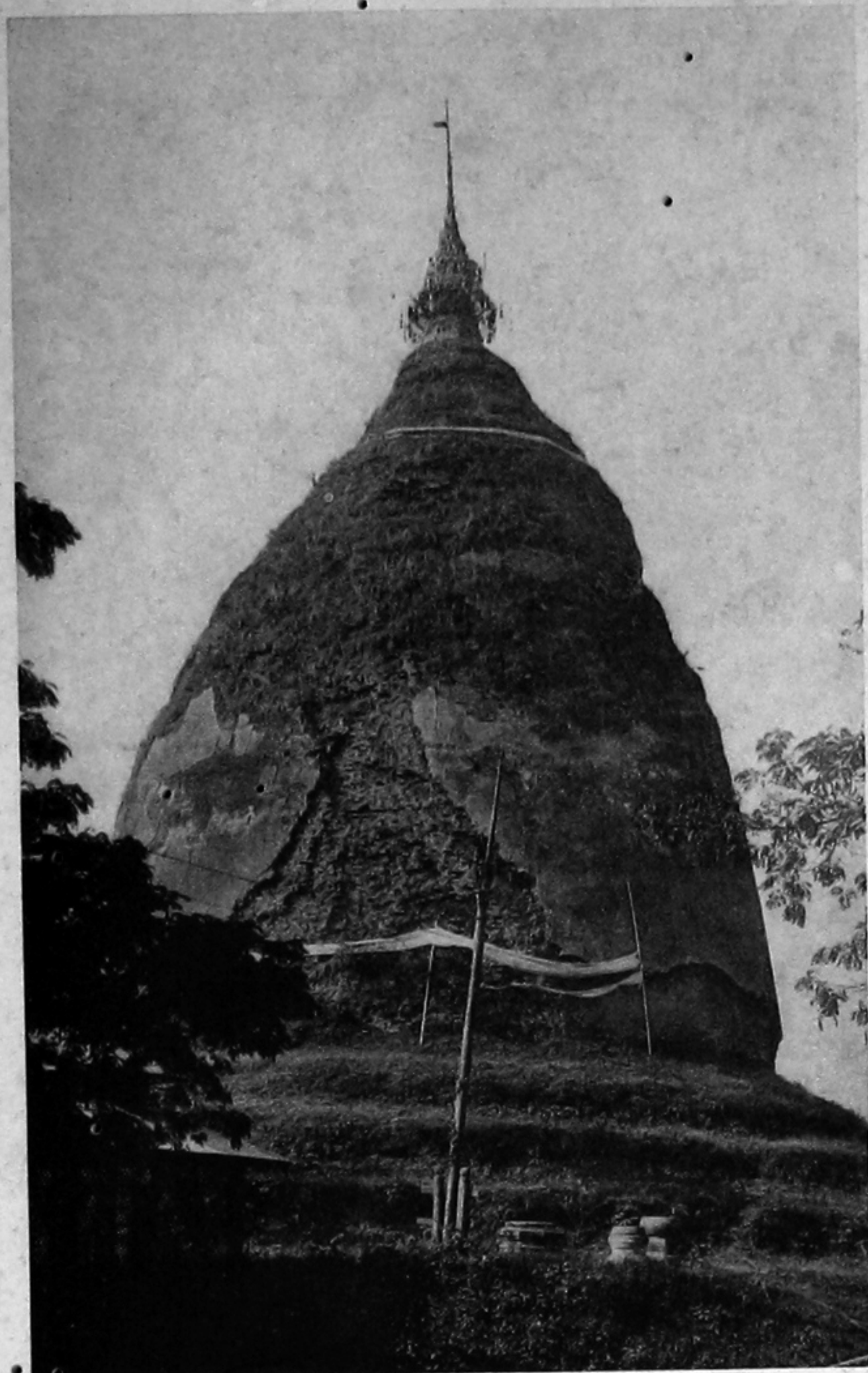


century A.D. Hiuen Thsang (or Yuan Chwang) and I-tsing mention *Shih-li-ch'a-to-lo*, which has been identified with Śrī-kshētra.¹ In the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., the following is recorded in the chapter on "Southern Barbarians" in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty (618—905 A.D.), the kingdom of the Piu or P'iao having been identified with Śrī-kshētra or ancient Prome, although it is quite possible that, at that period, the seat of supreme power had been transferred to Pagān: "When the King of the P'iao goes out in his palankeen, he reposes on a couch of golden cord; but for long distances he rides an elephant. He has several hundred female attendants. The circular wall of his city is built of greenish glazed tiles, and is 160 *li*. It has twelve gates and there are pagodas at each of the four corners. The people all live inside it. Their house tiles are of lead and zinc, and they use the wood of the *Nephelium lichi* as timber. They dislike taking life. They greet each other by embracing the arm with the hand. They know how to make astronomical calculations, and are devotees of Buddhism. They have a hundred monasteries with bricks of vitreous ware, embellished with gold and silver, vermillion, gay colours and red *kino*. The floor is painted and covered with ornamented carpets. The King's residence is in like style. The people cut their hair at seven years of age and enter a monastery. If, at the age of twenty, they have not grasped the doctrine, they become lay people again. For clothes they use a cotton *sarang*, holding that, as silk involves the taking of life, it ought not to be worn. On the head they wear golden-flowered hats with a blue net, or bag set with pearls. In the King's palace there are placed two bells, one of gold, and one of silver; when an enemy comes they burn incense and beat the bells in order to divine their good or evil fortune. There is a huge white image of hundred feet high; litigants burn incense and kneel before the image reflecting within themselves whether they are right or wrong, after which they retire. When there is any disaster or plague, the King also kneels down in front of the image and blames himself.....The women twist their hair high up on the crown of the head, and ornament it with strings of pearls; they wear a natural-tinted female petticoat, and throw pieces of delicate silk over themselves. When walking they hold a fan, and the wives of exalted persons have four or five individuals at each side holding fans.

"Nan-chao used to exercise suzerainty over it on account of its contiguity and by reason of the military strength of Nan-chao. Towards the close of the 8th century A.D., the King Yung K'iang, hearing that Nan-chao had become part of the T'ang Empire, had a desire to join China too, and Imousun sent an envoy named Yang Kiaming to Kien-nan. The Viceroy of Si-ch'wan, Wei Kao, begged permission to offer the Emperor some barbarian songs, and, moreover, told the P'iao State to send up some musicians. For specimens of their music see the General Annals. His Majesty Divius T'eh made Shu-nan-do President of the Imperial mews, and sent him back. The Governor of Kái-chun submitted a panegyric upon the P'iao music. In the year 832, the Nan-chao Monarch kidnapped three thousand Burmans, and colonised his newly acquired eastern dominions with them."²

¹ Vide Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, (A. D. 629—645), Vol. II, pp. 188-f.; Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (A.D. 671—695) by I-tsing, p. LI.

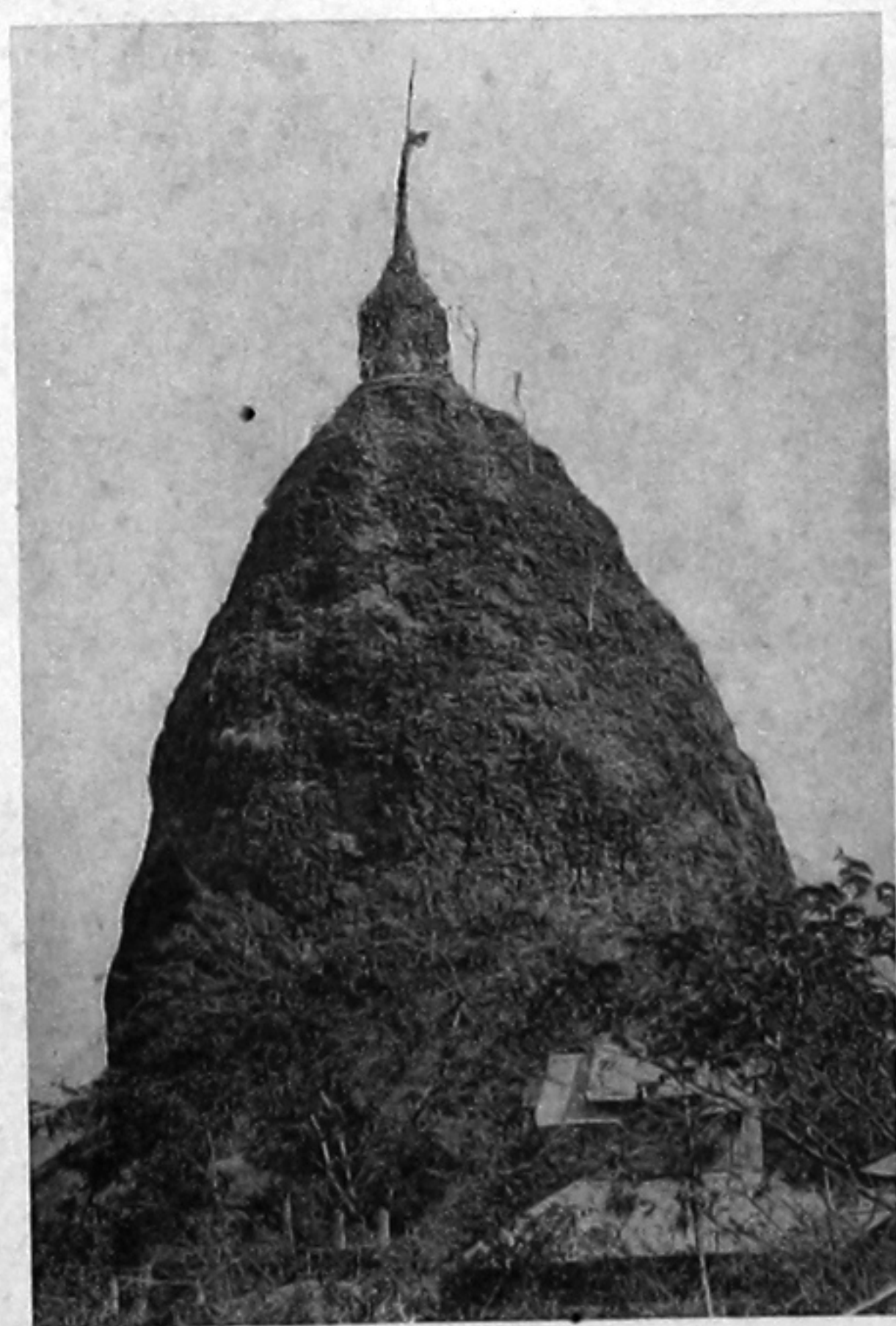
² Parker, *Burma: with special reference to her relations with China*, pp. 12-ff.



1. PAYAGYI PAGODA.



2. BAWBAWGYI PAGODA.



3. PAYAMA PAGODA.



4. BEBE PAGODA.

Scale 2 Inches = 1 Mile

NO	NAME
1	SHWE ZAYAN PAGODA
2	GALONGYA - DO.
3	DO. - DO.
4	GALONTHE - DO.
5	DO. - DO.
6	NYI NYI - DO.
7	SETTAING - DO.
8	DO. - DO.
9	SINGYIDAING - DO.
10	PAYATAUNG - DO.
11	TUPAYON - DO.
12	ZEGU - DO. (East)
13	DO. - DO. (West)
14	PAYANGOKTO - DO.
15	ZEYAMINGALAN - DO.
16	ATWINMOKTAW - DO.
17	BÈBÈGYI - DO.
18	BAWBAWGYI - DO.
19	YAHANDAGU - DO.
20	MONTHEMAGON

Ancient Prome is still known to the Hindus as Brahmodēs, and the Irrawaddy (Ērāvati) river, on which it stands, is regarded by them as second only to the Ganges in its efficacy to wash away sin. The ancient connection of Prome with India is further confirmed by the discovery about seventeen years ago, at a village seven miles to the south of the Hmawza Railway station, of two gold scrolls containing the well-known Buddhist formula “*Yē dhammā hētupabhavā*,” which is incised in the Eastern Chalukyan script of the 10th century A.D.¹ A certain amount of evidence is also afforded by the style of the buildings. Of the cylindrical-shaped Pagodas or ancient date, the best known are the Thaukkyama, Myinbahu, Bawbawgyi, Payagyi and Payama. The first has been thoroughly renovated, and has lost all traces of its original form; the upper portion of the second has been modernized, but its lower part still retains some of the features of its ancient architecture. Of the remaining three (Plate XLV, figs. 1, 2, and 3), Bawbawgyi is the best preserved and the Government has undertaken to conserve it. This edifice may be described as a high cylindrical superstructure resting on five receding terraces and crowned with an iron *ti*. It has a slight indentation in the centre, and the upper portion below the *ti* is shaped like a cone. It is 153 feet high from the natural ground level to the top of the *ti*, and is 240 feet in circumference. The measurements of the height of its several parts are as follows:—

Square terraces	26 feet.
Cylindrical body of Pagoda	73 „
Conical dome	24 „
<i>Amalaka</i>	5 „
<i>Ti</i>	25 „
TOTAL	153 feet.

There are three peculiarities in the construction of the Bawbawgyi, which are not noticeable in the shrines of Pagān:—

(i) The exposed surface of the brickwork on the body of the Pagoda is notched in squares so as to increase the adhesive qualities of the plaster;

(ii) The core of the Pagoda, which is 80 feet high and 10 feet in diameter, is turned into a vertical hollow shaft, in order apparently to secure economy;

(iii) On the north face, two parallel lines, about 4 feet in breadth, run along the whole length of the cylindrical body, almost detaching a thin strip of brickwork from the structure. These lines indicate that the outer covering, which is in layers, was built in a circular form, and that a small segment was added to complete the whole structure.

Ancient Prome, or Śrī-kshētra, served as a buffer state between the Burmese monarchy of Pagān and the Talaing kingdom of Pegu, and it was generally despoiled during the devastating wars of these rival powers. It was ransacked by Anawrata, in the 11th century A.D., when his victorious army returned from Thaton. Many pagodas, including the Bawbawgyi, were robbed of their treasure and relics, which were eventually enshrined in the Shwezigon at Pagān. The following account of the

¹ These valuable records were published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Part IV, pp. 101-ff. The originals are now preserved in the British Museum.

² Cf. also de Beylić, *op. cit.* figs. 61, 63 and 65.

plunder and destruction of Prome in the 16th century A.D. given by Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, who professes to have been an eye-witness illustrates the degree of ruthless vandalism committed by the Burmese and Talaings in the hour of victory which did not spare even the monuments dedicated to the service of religion :¹

"This treason so concluded," says Pinto, "was effected on the 23rd of August in the year 1545, wherein this Tyrant of Bramaa [Brānginoco or Hanthawadi Sinbyu-yin] carried himself with all the barbarousness and cruelty that he used to practise in the like cases. The gate was opened, the city delivered up, the inhabitants all cut to pieces, without so much as sparing one ; the King and Queen made prisoners, their treasure taken, the buildings and temples demolished, and many other inhumanities exercised with such outrageousness, the belief whereof is beyond the imagination and thought of men ; and truly, I never represent unto myself in which manner it was done, as having seen it with mine own eyes, but that I remain astonished and beside myself at it."

Pagodas and temples with their treasure-vaults were objects of cupidity not only during political upheavals, but also in times of peace. Professional treasure-hunters dug into them and despoiled them of their valuable contents ; and these vandals, while pursuing their nefarious vocation, were sometimes assisted by the active sympathy and co-operation of the native officials and the Buddhist clergy. These circumstances, no doubt, account for the somewhat disappointing nature of the excavations hitherto conducted in Burma.

The archæological finds unearthed at Hmawza mainly consist of votive terra-cotta tablets and stone sculptures. The age of the former remains still to be determined, but of one of the latter, namely, the sculptured stone (Plate XLVII, No. 4) found at the Zegu Pagoda (East), Mr. J. H. Marshall, Director General of Archæology, writes :—"This sculpture plainly derives its style from the familiar Gupta work of Northern India. It can hardly be assigned to a later date than the seventh century A.D., and may be earlier." Both the terra-cotta tablets and the stone sculptures belong to a period when it was customary for the votaries of Buddhism in Burma to adore groups of the Buddha and his attendants and devotees carved in stone. This must have preceded, by several centuries, the age when separate images of the Buddha were made of stone, brick or metal.

The sites selected for excavation are indicated on the accompanying map of Hmawza (Plate XLVI).

Zegu Pagoda (East).

It is a structure with an oriented porch, measuring 27 by 24 feet, and arches ornamented with plaster carvings. Its basement is likewise decorated with beautiful mouldings. It must have remained in a neglected condition for many years, because its upper portion has been reduced to a heap of débris overgrown with trees, the biggest of which was about 35 feet in height and 3½ feet in girth. A shaft, measuring 5 by 3' by 12', was sunk in front of the throne of the Buddha in the interior of the shrine. Some clay votive tablets were found. The most important find is the stone sculpture measuring 2'-8½" by 1'-6½" by 4", which has been referred to above. (Plate XLVII, fig. 4.) In the

¹ Cf. C. Scott-O'Connor, *Mandalay and other cities of the past in Burma*, p. 304.



1. STONE SCULPTURE FROM THE POGAUNGKANGON.



2. STONE SCULPTURE,
FROME.



3. STONE SCULPTURE FROM LEMYETHNA PAGODA.



4. STONE SCULPTURE FROM THE EAST ZEGU PAGODA.



5. STONE SCULPTURE FROM BAWBAWGYI PAGODA.



6. STONE SCULPTURE FROM LEMYETHNA PAGODA.



1.



2.



3.



4.



5.

FIGURES OF BUDDHA IN GOLD.

FIGURES OF BUDDHA IN STONE.



6.

STONE HEAD OF BUDDHA.



7.

BRONZE HEAD OF BUDDHA.



8.



9.



10.



11.

upper panel, the Buddha with an aureoled head is represented seated cross-legged between two crowned and well-draped figures, each carrying a *chaurī*, who appear to be two Bōdhisattvas. The face of the Buddha has peeled off; the palm of his left hand rests on the left knee; the right forearm is missing. In the centre of the lower panel is an object, probably the wheel-of-the-law, flanked by what look like kneeling deer, on either side of which are two worshippers in an attitude of adoration. The four worshippers are not represented in a kneeling posture, but with legs crossed. The pair on the proper right are apparently monks, as their heads are shaven, while those on the left appear to be laymen, as they wear high headdresses.

Another interesting stone sculpture (Plate XLVII, fig. 1) measuring 9 feet in height, 6 in breadth, and 1 in thickness, which appears to belong to the same age, was found at Pogaungkangon, which is situated near the Peikthanomyo, a site close to the southern face of the city walls (see map). As usual, the sculpture is divided into compartments, the figures in the lower one having been completely obliterated. The central figure in the upper division is, of course, the aureoled Buddha sitting cross-legged in a peculiar attitude, which approaches the *varadamudrā*, namely, with the left hand resting on the lap, and the right stretched out over the right knee. Both hands and arms are in a damaged condition. The face has been cut off, and the abdomen has been injured. On the proper right of the Buddha's throne, a *makara* head supported by what looks like a leogryph is visible. Behind it is a figure holding a *chaurī*. Close to it are two standing crowned personages with their hands clasped in front of their breast. These two are surmounted by a flying figure, probably a *dēva*. On the proper left of the Buddha are three figures. The first is a *chaurī* bearer, while the second and third, from their drapery and symbols, may probably be identified with Indra or Vajrapāṇi, and a female companion.¹

Thaungbyegon.

Thaungbyegon is inside the city and close to the southern wall. It takes its name from the tradition that, at one time, ten thousand pagodas were erected on its site. The actual counting of the mounds, however, reveals their number to be only one hundred and twenty-two. Two of these were cleared of débris, and the outlines of cylindrical *stūpas* were discovered. A bronze Buddha head, weighing 45 *tolas*, and the stone head of a crowned personage were found. The former is reproduced as figure 8 on Plate XLVIII. The curls of the hair and the contemplative expression of the face are well represented.

Mōnthemagōn.

According to the Burmese chronicles, Duttabaung, the founder of Yathemyo, met with a watery grave near Cape Negrais in the 5th century B.C., because he had dispossessed a *Mōnthema* or female sweet-meat seller of her land, which had been dedicated to a monastery. A mound reported to be the *Mōnthema's* pagoda was discovered (numbered 20 on the map) and a shaft, measuring 7' by 5' by 7', was sunk into it. A few votive tablets and the fragments of a stone throne of the Buddha were found. The site had evidently been dug into more than once before.

¹ Cf. de Beylié, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-ff. and fig. 59.

Singyidaing Pagoda.

The site is numbered 9 on the map. At a distance of 200 feet to the east of the north-western corner of the walls enclosing the palace site of Yathemyo, there is a low mound, covered with thick jungle, which is reputed to have been the site of the Singyidaing Pagoda or "the site where the White Elephant was tethered." Close by and 100 feet from it to the east is a tank known as the Sinbyugan or the "Tank of the White Elephant." It is about 250 feet in diameter, and is filled with water during the rainy season, but it dries up in April and May. Both are, as tradition runs, connected with the white or sacred elephant belonging to King Duttabaung, the founder of Yathemyo. When the jungle was cleared, the mound was found to be 7 feet in diameter at the top and 30 feet at the base. Its height is about 7 feet above the natural surface of the ground. A trench, measuring 3 feet 6 inches in breadth, was dug from east to west and across the centre of the mound. A little below the surface and in the trench were found fifty votive clay tablets bearing effigies of the Buddha more or less broken. They are very similar to those found at the Bawbawgyi, Bèbè and Lemyethna Pagodas. The most important find made here, and which is the first of its kind ever discovered at Yathemyo is a small headless figure of the Buddha carved in light porous stone, which the Burmese call *andagu*. It is well proportioned, and its workmanship forms a striking contrast, in neatness and finish, to that of the votive tablets. (Plate XLVIII, fig. 4.) At 6 feet 3 inches to the west from the centre of the mound, and 3 feet 9 inches below the top-level, was found the eighth layer—counting from the lowest one—of bricks. At this point, the north-western corner of the basement of the Pagoda was found. In the trench and on the east side of the mound was found a fragment of the stone which apparently formed the lid of the relic chamber. Digging lower down and at 8 feet below the top level, a deep hole was discovered, which had probably been sunk by treasure-hunters and then filled up afterwards. The bricks on this side had been disturbed in their position. The hole indicates that this pagoda has been ransacked, and as it would be hopeless to make any more important or useful finds, the work was stopped and the trench was filled up.

Kanthōnzindaung.

To the south of Hmawza there is a low range of hills isolating Thayekittaya from the Irrawaddy river. Almost every peak of it was once crowned by a pagoda, which is now a shapeless mass of débris. There are indications that, at some ancient period, the hill sides were used for burying the funeral urns of the Pyu race. They are now used for a utilitarian purpose, that is, for quarrying gravel for the railway and the public roads.

On the top of a hill, which is known as Kanthōnzindaung ("Hill of three series of tanks"), a small mound of débris was discovered with a low depression near the centre. It was opened and some important finds were made, most of which consist of terra-cotta votive tablets bearing Sanskrit legends of the well-known Buddhist formula *Yē dhammā hētupabhavā*. A great number of them was found a few feet below the surface on the eastern side of the mound. The head of a bronze

statuette of the Buddha with traces of gold on its face was also discovered near the surface. (Plate XLVIII, fig. 7.)

Atwin Mōktaw Pagoda.

Among the mounds of débris, which were discovered at Hmawza, the one marking the site of the Atwin Mōktaw Pagoda is the largest (numbered 16 on the map). It measures about 174 feet in diameter at the base and 39 feet in height, and local



Fig. 1.

tradition assigns it to the early centuries before the Christian era. Work was begun on the eastern side of the mound, and a vertical shaft of 10 feet was sunk. The earth was found to be loose, till a layer of bricks was reached. Below it was found a deep vertical shaft similar to that in the Bawbawgyi Pagoda. A man who was sent down this shaft reported that in the dark he had felt something like a stone. The digging was continued to a total depth of 15 feet, when the fragment of a stone, with a figure of an ogre (Burmese *bilu*) cut upon it in low relief was all that was discovered. Only half of the upper part of the figure is left and the remaining portion is missing.

The ogre is represented as holding with

both hands a club placed on its right shoulder (fig. 1). The figure was probably placed in the core of the Pagoda as a guardian of its valuable contents. There is a superstitious belief among the Burmans that such figures become animated with life, whenever sacrilege is committed on a sacred shrine.

The pagoda was cleared of débris also on the north side, and the finds made here were a few broken pieces of pottery and three glass marbles of different colours, each measuring about three-fourths of an inch in diameter, and two star-shaped objects in glass. Each of these glass ornaments has a small hole punched through its centre (fig. 2). Evidently, these articles were intended to be strung together and worn as a ceremonial necklace, and were apparently imported from China. Such necklaces are still worn by Chinese mandarins at the present day.

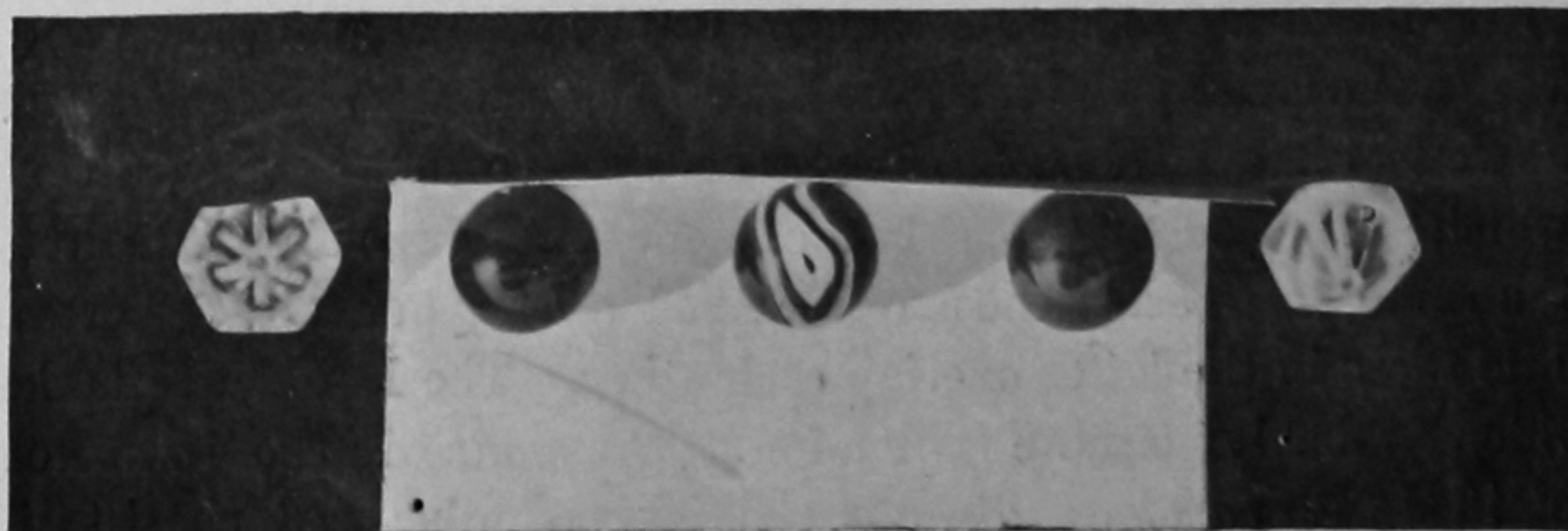


Fig. 2.

There remain other sculptures to be described. In the absence of lithic records and reliable histories, they constitute the main data from which a chapter of the forgotten history of Buddhism in Burma might be compiled. Within the compound of the Settaing Thein Kyaung, to the south of the railway station, Hmawza, there are two rows of stones facing each other, there being three stones in each. The central stone of each row is larger than the others, and both measure about 6'-7" in breadth, 2'-2" in thickness and 6' in height above ground. On each of these central stones is engraved the figure of the Buddha, seated between two disciples. Each disciple has his hands clasped together and raised to the breast, and instead of kneeling, he sits cross-legged, the outer knee being raised a little higher than the other. The stones have been much defaced. The backs of the thrones on which the attendant figures are seated appear to be Chinese in form. At the bottom of the central stone in the southern row is an inscription in an unknown script, which was discovered by the late General de Beylié (Plate L).¹

In the Bèbè Pagoda, which is a small square edifice, measuring 17' by 16' at the base and surmounted by a cylindrical *sikhara* (Plate XLV, fig. 4), there is a large slab of stone measuring 6' 3" in breadth, about 1' 3" in thickness, and 8' 2" in height above the ground level (fig. 3). It bears the effigy of the Buddha seated between two disciples with a Mongolian cast of features, having, as in the case of the other stone sculptures, their hands raised to the breast, and their legs crossed under them. The back of the seats of the disciples is like that in the Settaing Thein Kyaung. In the lower panel there is an inscription in an unknown language, similar in character to that of the Settaing Thein. The inscription has peeled off in many places, and the remaining letters have much weathered.

At the Lemyethna Pagoda, which is a four-sided structure, measuring 22' 5" square at the base, there is a masonry pillar in the centre, measuring about 7' 6" on each side, which supports the roof of the building. Facing the cardinal points, there appear to have been four sculptured stones embedded in the central pillar. Only two stones, namely, those on the southern and western faces now remain. In the upper panel of the stone facing south the Buddha is represented as seated cross-legged on a throne, in front of which are three flower vases. (Plate XLVII, fig. 6.) His right hand is placed on the right knee with the palm downwards and the fingers projecting outwards, while the left hand is placed in the lap. The head is missing. The Buddha is flanked on the right by a standing figure, probably a Bōdhisattva. On the left is another standing figure in a bad state of preservation, but from what is left of it, it looks like a female. The attitude is not that of one showing any reverence to the Buddha. It has a bangle on its right hand, and is probably a daughter of Māra. In the lower panel is a lotus border between two beaded bands. On the stone facing west (Plate XLVII, fig. 3) the Buddha is represented with an aureoled head over which is a projection probably meant for the foliage of the Bōdhi tree. He is seated in the same manner as the one described above, but the legs cross over one another while those in the latter overlap each other. The Buddha is flanked by two *chaityas* which probably connote deification. The *mudrā* in these two stones, which may be identified with *varada-mudrā*, is strikingly similar and consists in the left

¹ Cf. de Beylié, *op. cit.* pp. 82-ff, and figs. 56 and 57.

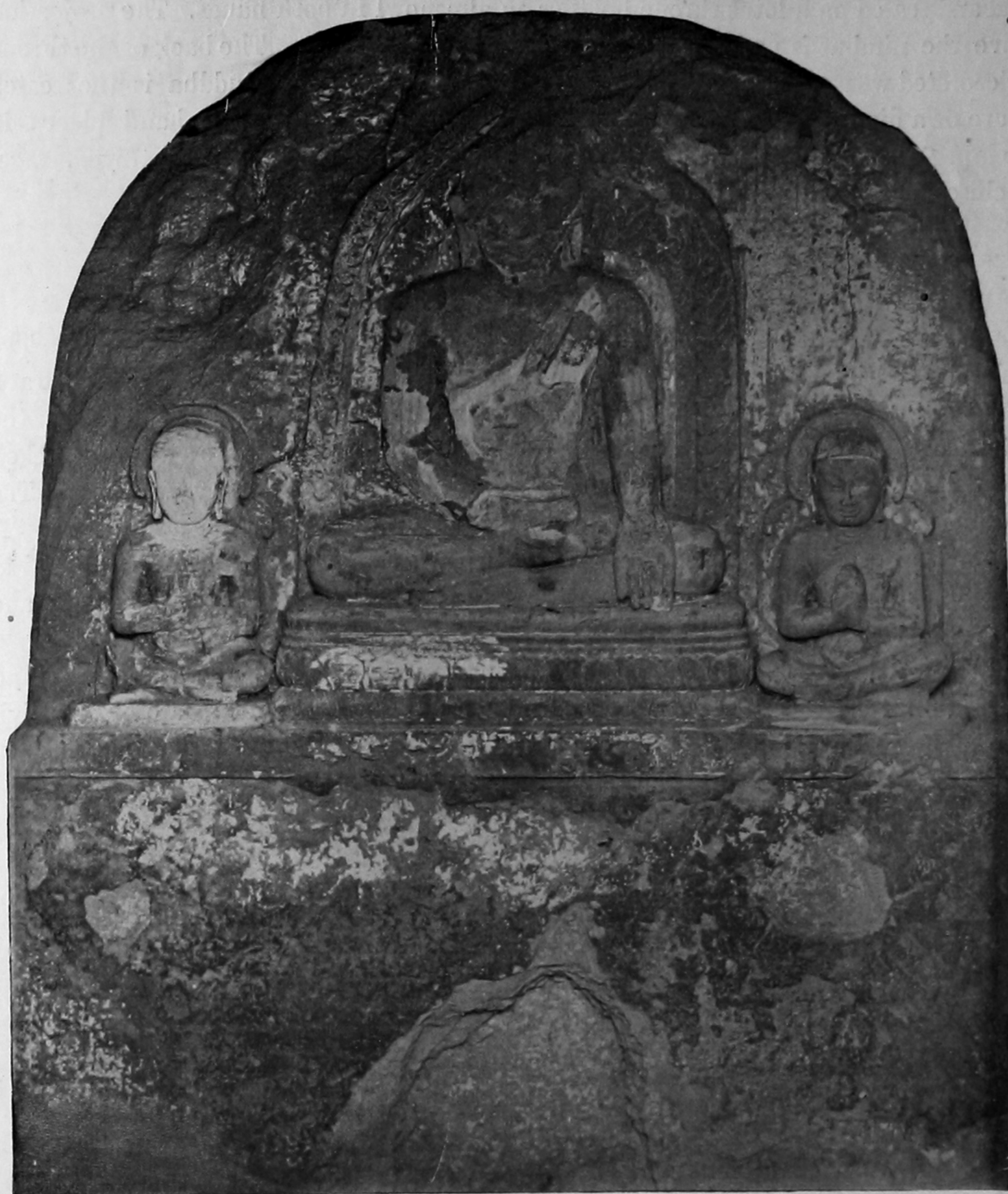


Fig. 3.

hand resting on the lap and the right hand being outstretched and touching the right knee. This peculiarity is seldom met with in modern Buddhist iconography.

Another example of figures sculptured in groups is afforded by a carved stone from the Yahandagu Pagoda (Plate LI). This shrine, which measures 14'-10" by 8' internally, is in a bad state of repair, the roof having fallen in. The stone, which is nearly 33 inches high, is placed flush with the south wall. The type of the figures is distinctly Mongolian, and the *mudrā* is that of *bhūmisparśa*, which is most commonly met with.¹ A sculpture was found on a small mound close to the Bawbawgyi Pagoda. (Plate XLVII, fig. 5.) Here the Buddha is represented with an aureoled

¹ Cf. de Bèlyié, *op. cit.* p. 96. In fig. 68, the Buddhas are erroneously shown in the position of meditation (*dhyāna-mudrā*).

head and seated on a lotus throne holding an almsbowl in both hands. The projection above the nimbus is perhaps an indication of the Bōdhi tree. The back of the throne is decorated with two *makara* heads. On the right side of the Buddha is the seated figure of a disciple, his left hand raised to the breast, and the right hand placed in the lap. Its counterpart on the left of the Buddha has probably been destroyed, traces of chisel marks being still visible on the stone.

Finds.

There still remain a few more stone sculptures to be described.

Figure 2 of Plate XLVII represents the Buddha in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. The arch surmounting him is somewhat remarkable. Indian arches are, as a rule, simple and round with a projection right in the centre, as if the model has been copied from the entrance of *chaitya* halls. Here the arch is cusped and is shaped like a double bracket, and the capitals of the two columns are crowned by rudimentary *makaras*. The Indian projection is here represented by a pinnacle, in the form of a lotus-bud. A decorative development of the bracketed arch with *makara* ornaments, is found at Borobudur,¹ and the Burmese arch appears to be a transition between the Indian and Javanese type.

It may be stated that the inscriptions in an unknown script found at Bèbè and the Settaing Thein are being deciphered by Mr. C. O. Blagden, late of the Civil Service of the Straits Settlements. The results of his researches will be published, in due course, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Terra-cotta Votive Tablets.

The tablets found at Hmawza are interesting in that they afford illustrations of



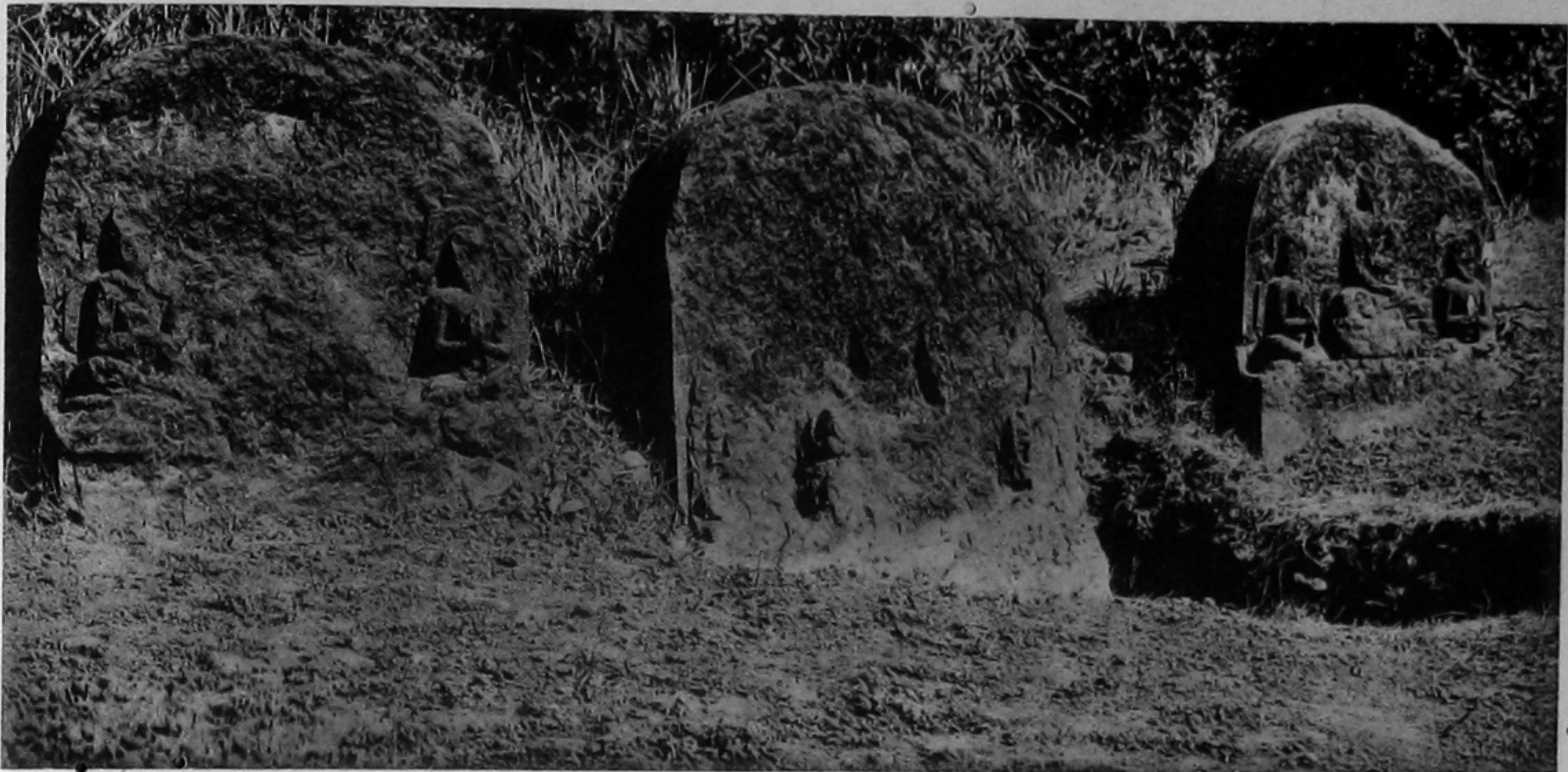
Fig. 4.

the *Mudrās*,² or hand postures of the Buddha. In Burma, at the present day, there is no Burmese equivalent for the term *mudrā* and only two of them are well-known and generally recognized, namely, the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* and the *abhaya-mudrā*.

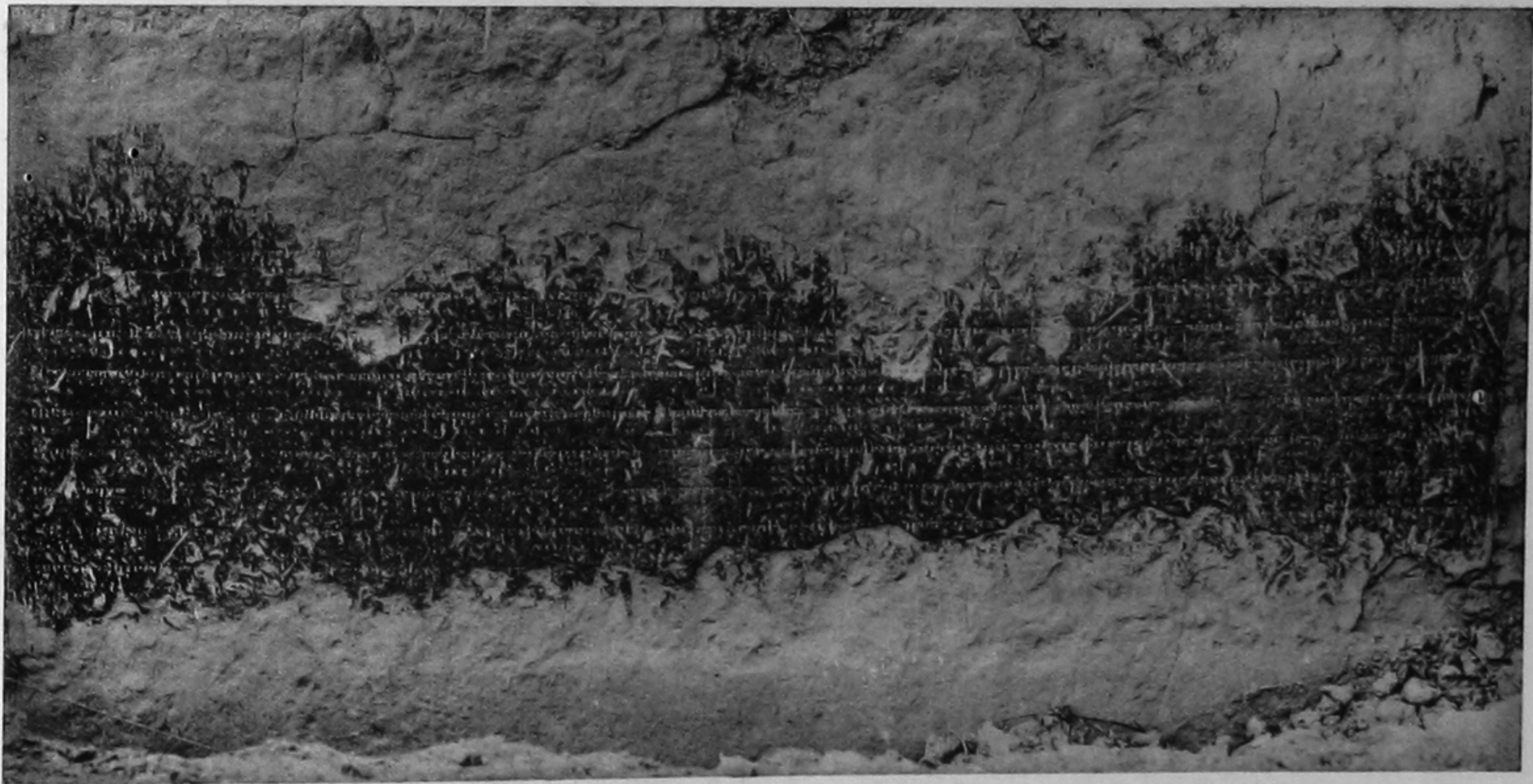
¹ Vide Pleyto, *Die Buddha Legende in den Sculpturen des Borobudur*, figs. 9 and 30.

² Vide *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI, p. 25; Waddell, *Lamaism*, pp. 335 ff.





1. STONE SCULPTURE FROM THE KYAUKKATHEIN PAGODA.



2. INSCRIPTIONS BELOW THE SCULPTURE OF STONE NO. 2. FIGURE 1.



STONE NO. 3, FIGURE 1, SHOWING
BUDDHA AND HIS ATTENDANTS.



• STONE SCULPTURES FROM THE YAHANDAGU PAGODA.

Figure 1 of Plate XLIX is a diminutive clay seal (m. 045).¹ The *mudrā* is not distinct. In figure 2, the forearm of the right hand is missing, the left hand is outstretched, and touches the left knee. In the nine recognized *mudrās*, described by Burgess and Waddell, the left arm is never outstretched as in this figure. In figure 3, the *mudrā* is *bhūmisparśa*, as also in figures 7 and 10. The *dharmachakra-mudrā* is met with in figures 6, 8 and 12. In figure 8, there are three tiers. In the upper one, the Buddha is flanked on the right by two disciples, and, on the left, by two figures in secular dress. In the middle, are depicted six persons with the Wheel-of-the-Law placed in their midst. The third division, with its figures of deer, refers to the Deer-park near Benares, where the Buddha preached his first sermon. The five figures seated to the Buddha's right which appear to be monks are probably meant for his first five converts—the Pañchavaggiyas. Figure 10 consists of two compartments: in the upper, the Buddha is attended by two Bōdhisattvas, while in the lower, he is placed between two female figures possibly meant for Māra's daughters. Figure 7, when entire,² must have represented the eight main scenes in the life of the Buddha: his enlightenment at Bōdh Gayā occupying the centre, and his Nirvāṇa the top. The pose in figures 11 and 14 of Plate XLIX is rarely met with in Burma. Waddell calls it the *lalita-mudrā* or the "Enchanter's pose," *i.e.*, after the manner of the Enchanter, Mañjuśrī. The right leg hangs down with an inclination slightly inwards and the left is loosely bent.

The reverse face of figures 11 and 12, as well as two bricks (figs. 17 and 18 of the same plate) are inscribed with letters in an unknown script.³

The ancient Pyu, who occupied Prome, burnt their dead and buried the

ashes on the hill sides. Figure 4 illustrates the form of the funeral urns in which the ashes of the dead were deposited and shows other specimens of their earthenware. Figure 4, *f* is a goblet for holding drinking water, and 4, *e* is a tobacco pipe. The ancient people of Prome and Pagān as well as of the Shan States were greatly addicted to smoking, as evidenced by the large number of pipes unearthed in these localities.

Another interesting object is a miniature pagoda cut out of crystal, the shape of which is that of the Bawbawgyi Pagoda, and bespeaks its

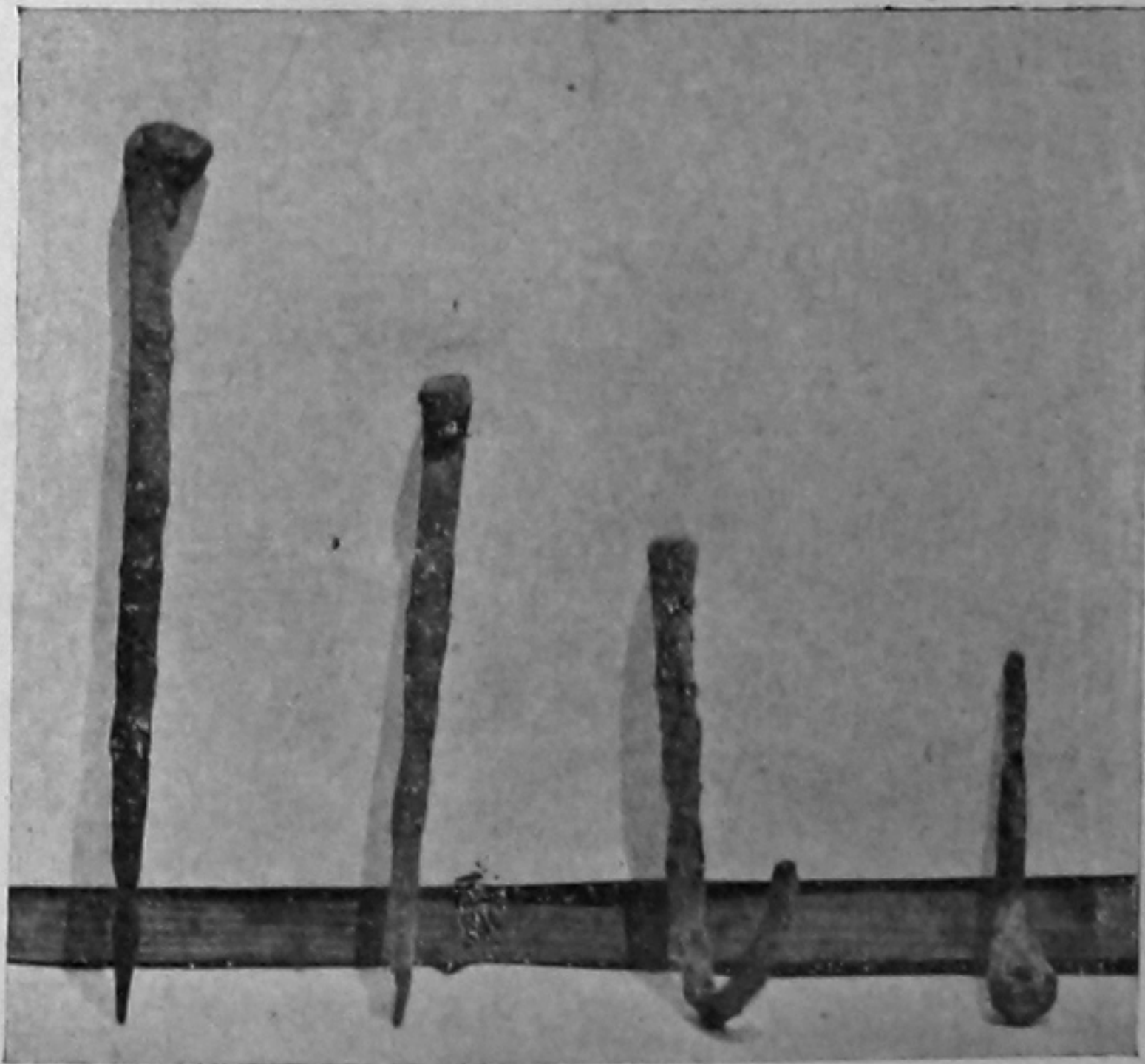


Fig. 5.

ancient origin. The iron nails depicted in figure 5 were unearthed on the hill sides together with the funeral urns.

TAW SEIN KO.

¹ Cf. de Beylié, *op. cit.* Plate V, No. 1.

² In 1906 a complete specimen from the same die was found.

³ General de Beylié, *op. cit.* p. 89, fig. 62, calls the characters Tibtean, but this must be erroneous.

EXCAVATIONS AT HMAWZA.

Taw Sein Ko
ASI
1911

EXCAVATIONS AT HMAWZA, PROME DISTRICT.

THE excavations at Prome were resumed during the cold season of 1910-11. In January 1911, in the course of clearing the *débris* round the Bawbawgyi Pagoda, two small fragments of stone inscriptions, measuring 6" by 3½" and 4" by 2½" respectively, were discovered (Plate XLVII, figs. 1 and 2). Estampages were submitted to M. L. Finot of Paris, who furnished me with the following interesting note. He says: "The language is Pāli. The script has a very archaic aspect: it reminds one, in every particular, of the Kadamba script of the 5th century (*vide* Bühler's *Indian Palæography*, Plate VII, Column XIII). We cannot be far out in attributing the fragments to the 6th or 7th century A.D. The subject is evidently one of Buddhist doctrine. *Phassa-paccayā vedanā*, or 'Sensation is caused by contact,' is a well-known clause of the chain of the twelve *Nidānas*. * * * It is interesting to find the Pāli canon in use in Lower Burma at so ancient a period when the rest of the Peninsula of Further India was acquainted with the Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Sanskrit text." In lieu of transcribing the entire Tripiṭaka on stone or metal and enshrining it in a Pagoda, the Buddhists have a custom of having only three transcripts made, namely, of the opening lines of the *Sutta*, *Vinaya*, and *Abhidhamma*. The fragmentary inscriptions referred to are evidently extracts from the *Mahāvagga*, the first book of the *Vinaya-Piṭaka*.¹

As regards the age of the Kadamba script, Bühler says: "The Kadamba grants probably belong partly to the 5th and partly to the 6th centuries; for Kākuṣṭhavarman, who issued the oldest known record, was the contemporary of one of the Imperial Guptas, probably of Samudra-Gupta, and his descendants all ruled before the overthrow of the Kadamba Kingdom by Kīrtivarman I, between A.D. 566-67 and 596-97."²

On the spot where the two fragmentary Pāli inscriptions were found were also discovered four stone heads of the Buddha, two of which are aureoled, while the

¹ Oldenberg, *The Vinaya Piṭakam, Mahāvagga*, Vol. I, p. 1.

² Bühler, *Indian Palæography*, p. 65.

other are plain. Their height varies from 3 to 4 inches, and their breadth from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 inches. The aureoled heads appear to belong to the same age and are finely chiselled. The eyes are closed in contemplation; the cheeks and lips are full; and the chin is small. The nose is broad at the base.

At the north-western part of the Bawbawgyi Pagoda, and about 6 feet below its dome, was discovered a small earthenware vase of almost classic pattern, measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height and 18 in circumference, and containing bone-ash, 5 silver coins, small pieces of jadeite, and inscribed gold and silver scrolls, which were crumpled and mixed up with mortar and gravel (Plate XLVII, figs. 3-8). The workmen were putting up a scaffolding round the Pagoda, and one of them made a hole into the body of the structure with a pointed bamboo, when the object was discovered. The vase, which was apparently used as an urn, was found in a damaged condition, indicating that it was already broken when it was enshrined. The find-spot shows that the vase was placed in a small niche specially prepared for it. The scrolls are in such a bad condition, that only a few detached letters could be deciphered tentatively.

Close to the Bawbawgyi Pagoda, and amidst objects pertaining to the Śiva cult, was found a round clay tablet measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, with the *linga* depicted on its obverse face (Plate XLVII, figs. 9-10). The *linga* rests on a rectangular pedestal, between which and two wavy lines a thick band intervenes. It is flanked on either side by a series of four circles and what looks like the head of a *nāga*. Close to the side of the supposed *nāga* is an object, which looks like a crab. Over the *linga* is a forked line, which separates the sun from the moon, the former being on its proper right, and the latter on its proper left. The reverse face, which may be described as depicting two sets of duplicated triangles placed apex to apex, with a streamer tied at the place of junction, appears to be a replica of that of coin No. 1 on Plate IV of Phayre's "*Coins of Arakan, of Pegu and of Burma*," with the following differences: on Phayre's coin, the meeting-point of the triangles is indicated by a duplicated circle with a central dot, while on the clay seal, it is shown by three circular dots placed one above the other; on the former, there are five dots below the triangles, while on the latter, the triangles are surmounted by a line of nine dots, the central or fifth being larger than the rest, and rest on a double line of five dots each. It is remarkable that the silver coins should bear symbols strikingly similar to those of the clay seal, with the single difference in that the sun appears on the proper left of the *linga* instead of on the right, thereby indicating their difference of origin. Amongst the Aryan Hindus, the right is the side of honour, while the left is the side of honour amongst the Mongolian Chinese.

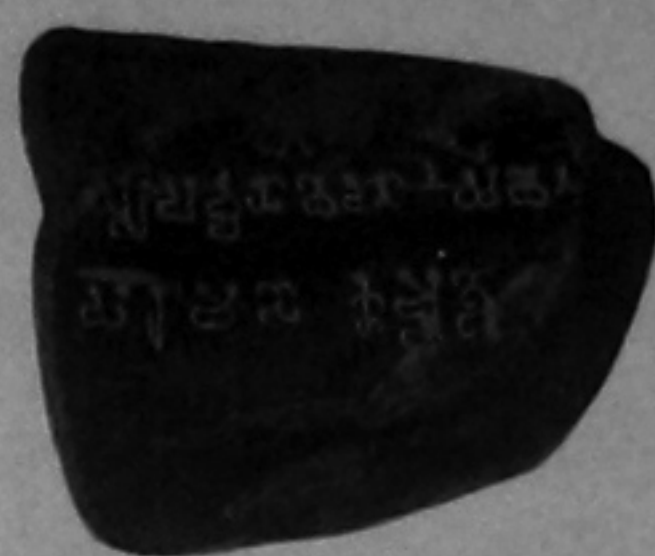
Sir Arthur Phayre proceeds, as follows, to explain the signification of the symbols on the coin reproduced on Plate IV of his work:

"Captain Latter regarded coin No. 1 as Buddhist, and of modern date. He observes that the obverse has in the centre a *chaitya* formed of detached upright glyphs, and surmounted by a *hti* or umbrella. Right and left, are representations of the cobra capella, and, above, the sun and the moon. To the left are Buddhist and Hindu symbols, being a trident, three horizontal lines or scores, and the *swastika*; to the right is some unrecognized figure, and, below all, are four horizontal or slightly curved lines, one probably representing a serpent.

EXCAVATIONS AT HMAWZA.



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3



4



5



6



7



8



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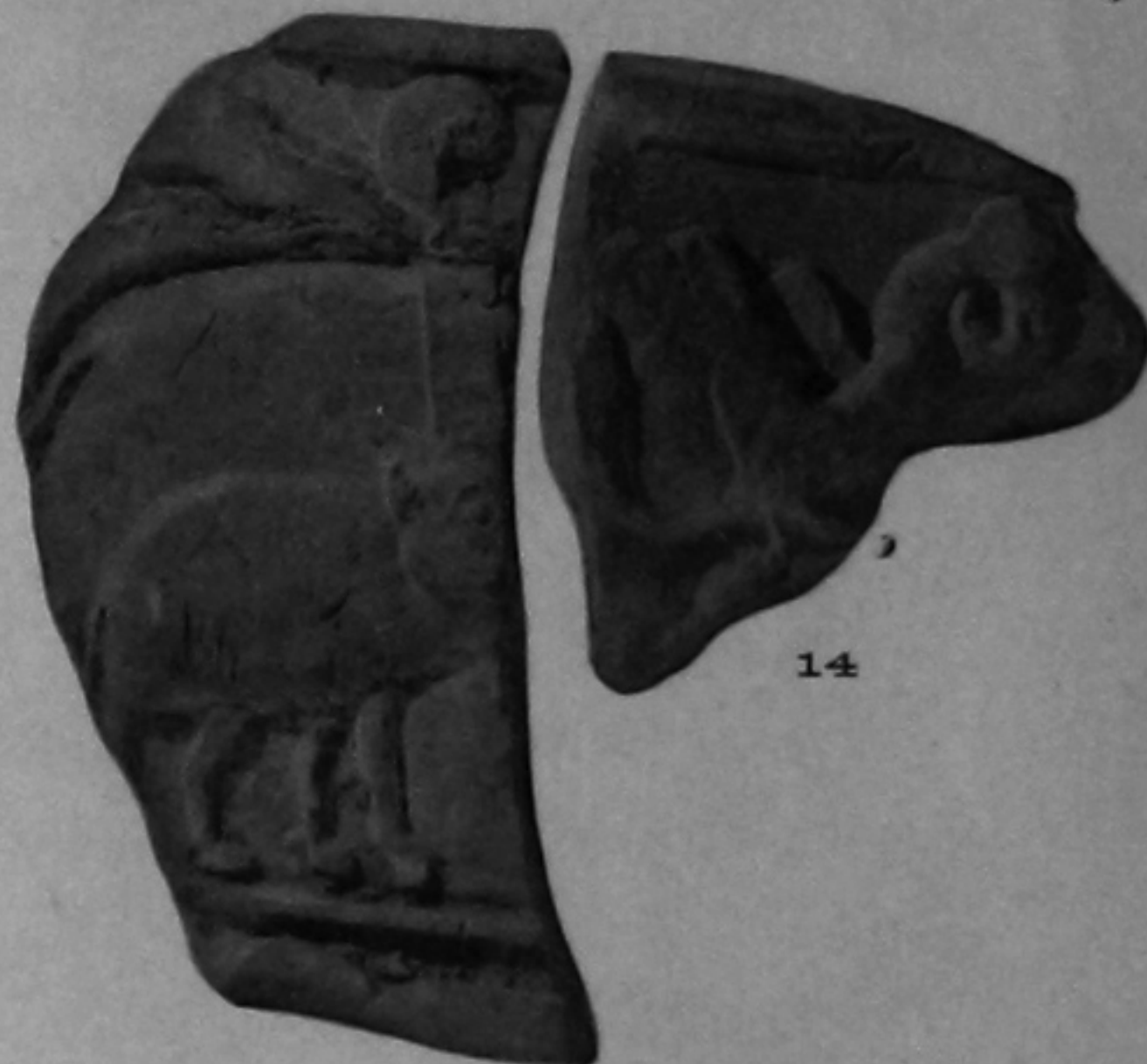
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21

MISCELLANEOUS FINDS.

"Of the reverse Captain Latter remarks: 'it may be intended to convey a symbolical representation of the cosmology of Buddhism, the twenty-eight circular figures in the outer ring representing the twenty-eight Buddhas, characteristic of a Mahāgabbha (Mahākālpa) or grand period of nature; the five drop-shaped figures representing a Buddha-gabbha (Buddha-kālpa) or lesser period of nature, the present period being characterized by the presence of five Buddhas; the emblem in the centre is 'composed of certain triangles, representing this world in particular. The triangles with their points downwards represent *water*, and those with their apices upwards typify *fire*;' and they meet in a central circle having a point within it, the whole denoting both the supposed elements of which the world is composed, and the reiterated destruction of the world by fire and by water. The above observations convey a probable explanation of the symbols. It might have been added that the volumes of cloud-like substance, which appear to be issuing from the centre, where the points of the triangles meet, symbolize 'air,' another of the 'elements,' which go to form a world, and by which it is destroyed once in sixty-four times. The triangular figures and floating substance, taken as a whole, also typify 'earth' as an element, and as the 'world,' the particles of which are rearranged, and form a body fit for land animals to dwell on after each periodical destruction. Below the triangles there is a wavy horizontal line which appears to represent a 'serpent.' This form introduced on coins below a *chaitya* is described by Mr. E. Thomas in his essay on coins of the Āndhra dynasty in the *Indian Antiquary*,¹

*

*

*

*

and the figure of a crab, which is shown on one of the coins of Southern India,² also supplies the symbol of destruction and renovation.³"

Mr. Venkayya, the Government Epigraphist, was asked to explain the signification of the symbolism displayed on the clay seal, and to indicate its probable age and place of origin; and his reply is as follows: "As regards the clay seal, I dare say you have already noticed its resemblance to coin No. 1 figured on Plate V of Phayre's *Coins of Arakan, of Pegu and of Burma*. No. 2 of the same Plate is also allied to your seal. In his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, page 332, Mr. V. A. Smith describes some coins of Arakan. One of them belongs to a king called Śrī-Śiva (No. 9). Mr. Smith describes the symbol in his No. 10 as a 'trident with garlands hanging from it (Thomas); sun and moon above.' I think the symbols on your clay seal resemble those on the Arakan coins. And if Mr. Smith's reading of the legend in his No. 9 be correct, there was a king named Śrī-Śiva, who ruled over Arakan. Apart from the legend, the bull is figured on a number of coins from Arakan. Consequently, I am inclined to think that the traces of the Śiva cult, which you have found near Prome, have probably reached there through Arakan. I have seen representations of the *Śiva-līṅga* being worshipped by serpents, one on each side. The alphabet of the legends on the coins, which are allied to your seal by the symbols which they bear, appears to be North-Indian. It,

¹ Volume IX, 1880, p. 61.

² Sir Walter Elliot, in "*Madras Journal of Literature and Science*," Vol. III, N. S., Pl. X, fig. 85C.

³ Phayre, "*Coins of Arakan, of Pegu and of Burma*," pp. 34-35.

therefore, looks as if Arakan got the Śiva cult from Northern India, and the country in the vicinity of Prome borrowed it from Arakan. I do not know if the gradual transformation of a *Śiva-linga* into a Buddhist pagoda has any parallel in India. But it seems to me that the transformation of a Buddhist pagoda into a Hindu temple is more likely in India. In Burma the historical conditions were different and the transformation of a Śiva temple into a Buddhist pagoda may be easily explained. As regards the use to which such clay seals were put, it is not unlikely that the one which you have found belonged to the Śiva temple, and that the pilgrims took one or more of them when leaving the temple."

Mr. Venkayya's opinion is corroborated by the evidence afforded by two coins (Nos. 1 and 16) in the collection of Arakanese coins in the Phayre Provincial Museum. On their obverse face is depicted a recumbent bull with the legend *Kālachandra* above it, while on its reverse is displayed a symbol, which may be interpreted either as a trident of Śiva or as a *linga* worshipped by two *nāgas*. The date of *Kālachandra* may be fixed approximately. He appears as No. 12 under the name *Kalatsandra* in the chronological table of the Kings of Arakan. Now his predecessor, *Chandra-Surya* or *Tsan-da-thu-ri-ya-tsan-dra* ascended the throne in 146 A.D. and reigned for thirty-seven years, while *Kālachandra's* rule lasted for forty years. Therefore, the latter king may be assumed to have flourished between 183 and 223 A.D.¹

Taking the above evidence into consideration, the clay seal appears to be a Buddhist rather than a Śivaite symbol. It indicates the complete and harmonious absorption by Buddhism, in the early centuries of the Christian era, probably in the fifth century A.D., of two rival and coeval cults, namely, Śaivism and Nāga worship.² On its obverse face the central object is, of course, the *linga*-shaped *stūpa* resting on a plinth, which is the prototype of the Bawbawgyi Pagoda, near which the seal was found. The *stūpa* is flanked on either side by four dots, which indicate that four Buddhas have appeared and passed away in this *Bhadra-kalpa* and that they have been deified. In order to enhance the sanctity of the *stūpa*, and also to indicate its acceptance as an object of worship by the worshippers of serpents, two *nāgas*, which are themselves objects of worship, are represented as adoring the sacred edifice. The crab on either side of the rim shows that a world-cycle is subject to periodical destruction and renovation. A canopy placed over an object indicates its sacred character; and that over the *stūpa* denotes that it is an object of worship. The sun and the moon represent the world, and their presence signifies that, in this world, or "under the sun and the moon," the *stūpa* is an object deserving the highest reverence. The *stūpa* rests on a thick band denoting the *earth*, which, according to Buddhist cosmography, is supported by *water* and *air*, which are indicated by two wavy lines. The Buddhist character of the seal is revealed, to a greater extent, by the symbols manifested on its reverse face. The twenty-eight dots on the rim represent, as explained above by Captain Latter, the twenty-eight Buddhas including Gautama. The triangular symbol in the middle of the seal is the *Vajrāsana* or Diamond Throne of Gautama Buddha. Above the

¹ Vide Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 44 and 293.

² Vide Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. 1, pp. 42 ff.

Throne are nine dots showing that its occupant is the Possessor of Nine Attributes (*Navaguna*), while the ten dots below it indicate that he is, at the same time, *Dasa-bala*,¹ the Possessor of the Ten Kinds of Strength. The centre of the Throne is occupied by three dots placed one above the other signifying the *Triratna* or the "Three Gems," of whom the Buddha is the most revered.²

Figures 11-14 of Plate XLVII are found on the same site as the clay seal. Figure 11, measuring $4" \times 2\frac{1}{4}"$, shows a devotee worshipping the Foot-prints of the Buddha at the foot of the Diamond Throne. Figure 12, which measures $5" \times 5\frac{1}{2}"$, depicts the recumbent figure of a horse, and a trident. Figure 13, which measures $5\frac{1}{2}" \times 3"$, and figure 14, which measures $3\frac{1}{2}" \times 3"$, seem to belong together and to represent a female elephant with a calf.

Figures 15 to 19 show funeral urns, whose dimensions extend from 5 inches to 1 foot in height, and from 1 foot 8 inches to 2 feet 3 inches in circumference. They were found buried close to the foundation of a ruined brick wall forming part of a temple which was, perhaps, dedicated to Śiva.

Figure 20 is a stone vessel found at an excavated site called Tawadeintha. Its height is 2 feet and its diameter 6 inches.

On the same site was discovered a clay tablet measuring $5" \times 5\frac{1}{2}"$, on which a Buddha figure is shown seated in the *dharmacakramudrā*; on the reverse is an inscription (fig. 21) believed to be in Pyu, a language which has been extinct for several centuries. Mr. C. O. Blagden has, however, succeeded in deciphering the fourth or Pyu face of the Myazedi Inscription of Pagan, which is dated 1084 A.D.³ The finds described above appear to justify the following conclusions:—

- (i) That in the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era, Pāli was used as one of the vehicles of Buddhism in the neighbourhood of Prome.
- (ii) That the pre-existing Śiva cult was absorbed by Buddhism in the same locality, about the same period, if not earlier.
- (iii) That the time-limit of authentic Burmese history may now be pushed back for, at least, a century, *i.e.*, to the 6th century A.D.

TAW SEIN KO.

¹ Vide Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, pp. 262 and 112.

² The Editor does not wish to assume any responsibility for the above interpretation of the symbolism of the clay tablet here discussed. "Se non è vero, ben trovato." (If it is not true, it is cleverly invented.)

³ Vide April number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1911, pp. 365-388.

EXCAVATIONS AT HMAWZA, PROME.

THE previous Reports of Mr. Taw Sein Ko, and especially what he has written in the Annual Report, Part II, of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1910-11, make clear the objects he had in view in excavating at Hmawza in the Prome District. The principal of these objects was naturally to try and find data for pushing back, if possible, the period of authenticated Burmese history beyond the 7th century A.D. Another important object was to secure additional evidence regarding the now extinct (and provisionally called) Pyu language; and it is principally with these two objects in view that the excavations were resumed during the cold season of 1911-12, in the course of which the finds forming the subject of this note were brought to light.

In the Annual Report, Part II, for 1911-12 reference is made to two fragments of an inscription which were discovered while clearing the terraces of the Bawbawgyi pagoda from the debris that encumbered them. This year, the most important find, both from the epigraphical and historical point of view, made at the same pagoda, is another inscribed fragment of soft stone which forms the central piece of the two referred to above. These three fragments (Fig. 1, Pl. 1) have been pieced together by M. L. Finot of Paris, who reports on them in the following terms:—

“A few weeks ago, my friend Mr. Blagden sent me the *estampage* of an inscribed fragment found at Hmawza, desiring me, on your behalf, to try and decipher it. I did my best to comply with his request, rather hurriedly. But then he called my attention to two other fragments discovered before on the same spot, which he thought might, perhaps, help to the elucidation of the new one. This suggestion proved very happy. Put side by side, the three fragments turned out to tally perfectly well and give a running text. This text I tried to find out in the Piṭakas, but with no success. Nevertheless, Mrs. Bode has pointed out to me a passage of the Aṭṭhasālinī, which, though different from the Hmawza text, is clearly akin to it and has helped much to the right understanding of it. I send you my transcription which, I hope, proves beyond doubt the flourishing state of Pāli literature in Lower Burma at such an early date as Vth and VIth century (for, as to date, I quite endorse your opinion).”

Transcription of the Pāli fragments found at Hmawza.

The three fragments found at Hmawza contain a Buddhist text in Pāli. Whether it is extracted from the Suttapīṭaka or from the Abhidhammapīṭaka or perhaps, from an Aṭṭhakathā, is not clear. The writing may be safely ascribed to the Vth or VIth century of our era. Undoubtedly the order of the fragments was as follows :--

* * * * *

Text.

(1) nā samphus (i) tattam vēdanakkhandhō saññakkhandhō saṅkhārakkhandhō.

(2) di (tṭh) i vipphanditam diṭṭhi ayam vuchchati salāyatana (?) pachchayā phassō tattha katam (ā) phassapachchayā vēdanā iyaṃ cheta (s) i (kā).

(3) Saññōjanam gā (hō) paṭiggāhō abhinivēsō parāmāsō kummaggō.

Translation.

(1) . . . the being brought into contact, the state of having been brought into touch with. The Vedanakkandha, Saññakkhandha, the Saṅkhārakkhandha (2) contest of opinion : this is called *diṭṭhi*. From the six senses springs contact. What is the feeling which springs from contact? It is mental . . . (3) . . . thus fetter (of opinion), the grip and tenacity, the inclination towards it, the being infected by it, thus by-path

The discovery of this fragmentary inscription in Pāli belonging to the 5th-6th century A.D. would appear to indicate the co-existence in lower Burma at an early period, of both Sanskrit and Pāli, and therefore also that the two forms of Buddhism, the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna, were known in Old Prome and probably flourished there side by side, or in alternate periods of supremacy, the former view, however, being the more probable one. It is certain that, from the 11th century onward, the Hīnayāna made vast strides and finally superseded the other form; the latter, however, did not disappear so rapidly and completely as may have been thought; for it has, even up to the present day, left deep traces behind it.¹

From the same site were obtained some small bronze images of the Buddha, the most important of which are given in Pl. LXVIII, Figs. 4-6. Figure 2 (Appendix A 3) is the Buddha Dipaṅkara; the robe is indicated merely by a line from the left shoulder passing under the right arm, thus leaving uncovered the right breast and arm, and by another running horizontally just above the ankles. The right arm, which is free from the body, is in the *Abhayaṃudrā*, the left hand, as is usual in these figures, holding the folds of the *uttarasāṅgha*. This traditional pose is different from that of the figure delineated on the terracotta votive tablet found at the Western Petleik Pagoda, Pagan, in which both hands are raised to the shoulders with the palms outwards. It has some similarity with Fig. a, Pl. XXIX of the

¹ See *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Vol. 11, Part 1, June 1912, pp 101-03.

Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Part II, 1906-07,¹ but where the attitude is much more natural and graceful; the attitude in our statuette is very stiff. The feet are placed close to one another and the fleshy protuberance of the head, instead of ending in one knob, has two, the top one being pointed in the shape of a cone or *rāsmīmāla* as it is called in Ceylon; there is no trace of a halo; the cast of countenance is frankly Indian. It is somewhat difficult to determine the age of this figure, for there is nothing distinct to base an opinion upon, except perhaps the sharp Indian features; but the style of the figurine as well as its being found at the Bawbawgyi not very far from the Avalokiteśvara described below, point to at least the 10th-11th century. Figure (5) is a Buddha seated on the *padmāsana*; the figure is seated cross-legged with the sole of the right foot upwards; the left hand rests on the lap in the *dhyāna-mudrā*, and the right is hanging, palm inwards, in the *bhūmiśparśa-mudrā*. The upper robe, folded on the left shoulder, leaves the right shoulder and arm bare; the *uśhṇīṣa* assumes the conical pointed shape. The back of the pedestal, on which is the lotus throne, is elaborately decorated. There is, on each side and facing sideways, a leogryph standing on its hind legs on the back of a diminutive elephant and supporting the head of a *makara*. From the jaws of each leogryph there flows a string of pearls which it holds between its fore paws and which falls nearly to its feet. From behind the head of each *makara* there issues the usual florid tail which, gracefully curling up enters, on both sides, the jaws of a *kīrtimukhī* with large goggle eyes and stylized horns, a head somewhat similar to which may be seen in Fig. 14, Pl. LXV, Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, Part II for 1903-04. The whole is surmounted by a small *hti*. Just in front of the lotus cushion, on the top of the throne, there is a small thunderbolt, or *vajra*.² The elaborate design of the back of the throne, and the Mongolian appearance of the face with its rather flat nose and slightly almond eyes seem to indicate that this figure is not of a very early date.

By far the most interesting and important find is a bronze statuette of a standing Avalokiteśvara with four arms. (Fig. 6, Pl. LXVIII.) This is the first of its kind found at Hmawza, and is an irrefutable proof of the existence at an early period, before the 11th century, of Mahāyānism at Prome. The two feet are broken off, and unfortunately also the left arm above the elbow, so that the attributes held in the two left hands have been lost; but the elaborate and high headdress in the form of a mitre, and within it, the Dhyāni-Buddha Amitābha, leave little doubt as to its being Lokeśvara. The position of the right arm of Amitābha, however, is not quite clear, and it is doubtful whether it is in the *dhyāna-mudrā*. From the disproportionate thickness of the right arm above the elbow, it appears to be raised in the *abhaya-mudrā*. The second right hand, at the back of the first, of Avalokiteśvara, holds what appears to be the book, that is, a small bundle of palm leaves tied round with a string. An interesting feature is the position of the other hand, which, instead of being, as is generally the case, in the *varāda-mudrā*, is here

¹ Cf. also A. Foucher's *Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, Vol. I, page 78, and *L'Art Greco-Bouddhique du Gandhara*, Vol. 1, pp. 275, 277.

² It is similar in form to that held by Padmasambhava, Fig. 35, Grünwedel's *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*; cf. also Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, 11, p. 17.

✓ brought up before the shoulder in the *vitarka-mudrā*.¹ The right knee is slightly bent, causing the left hip to protrude slightly and gracefully, as is so often seen in ✓ the Gandhara statues of the Buddha. The forehead is marked with the *ūrṇā*. The dress is that usually worn by Bodhisattvas, with necklace, armlets, girdle and ✓ below the latter, running across the loins, a sash, tied in a graceful knot on the left hip and falling all along the left leg. The whole figure is exquisitely worked. It is probably not later than 6th-8th century.² For the last few years indisputable proofs of Indian culture and direct intercourse with Burma in early times and extending over a long period have been slowly accumulating, and the new material bids fair, if similar finds continue to be made and more ancient inscriptions than are now at our disposal be found, to enable us, within a few years, to carry back the history of Burma, both political and religious, to the early centuries of the Christian era and probably earlier still.

Among the terracotta tablets discovered at the Bawbawgyi pagoda, there is a fragment bearing a Sanskrit legend (Fig. 2, Pl. LXVIII) which was submitted for examination, to Mr. Venkayya, the late learned Epigraphist, who wrote as follows: "I have again spent some time over the votive tablet. The result is, however, not very encouraging as I am still not quite sure of the reading. But it now seems to me that the most probable reading is: *Machchhakadānapati-Vigahā-rājā-śri*. There is one more symbol at the end of the line, which is partially damaged. It is also possible there are more letters or symbols lost. If the former is true, it may be assumed that "Machchhakadāna" was the name of some locality, town, province, or kingdom. Its ruler would, in that case, be Vigahā-rājā, though one would, under ordinary condition, expect the syllable *śri* before the name and not after it." Neither the locality "Machchhakadāna" nor its king "Vigahā-rājā" has yet been identified. Both names appear to be foreign to Burma.

APPENDIX A.

List of Finds from the Bawbwagyi Pagoda.

I. Inscriptions.

1. Inscribed fragment of soft stone, consisting of three lines, the longest being four inches in length (see above, pp. 142-143).

II. Coins.

2. Five silver coins (see p. 90 of the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Part II, for the year 1910-11).

III. Bronze Figures.

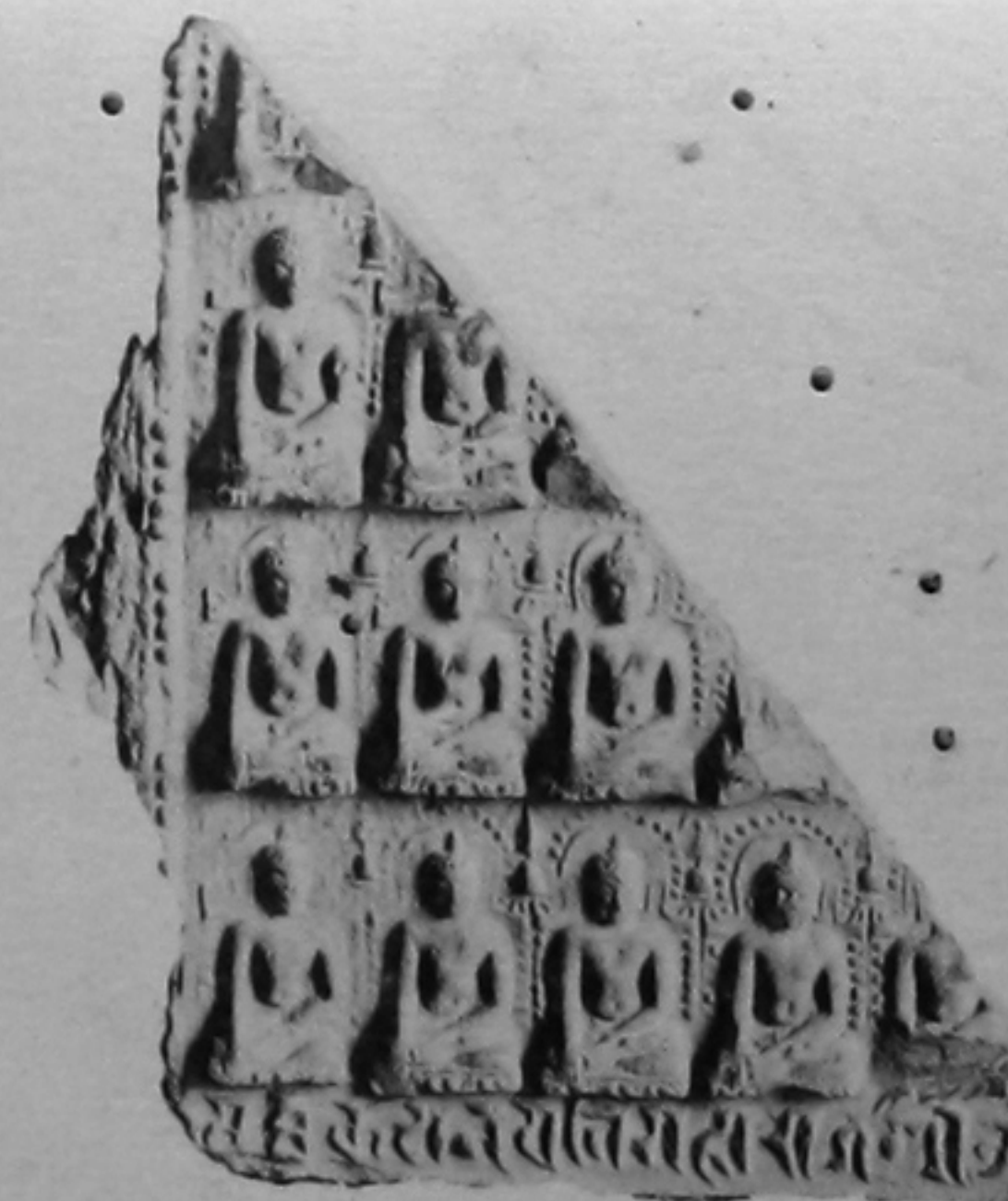
3. Figure (ht. 7' 7") of Buddha standing (see above, pp. 143-144).
- 4-7. Figures (ht. 4' 9", 4' 5", 4' 4" and 3' 7" respectively) of Buddha seated cross-legged in the *Bhūmisparśa-mudrā*.

¹ Cf. *Iconographie Bouddhique*, Vol. I, 98 and Note 2.

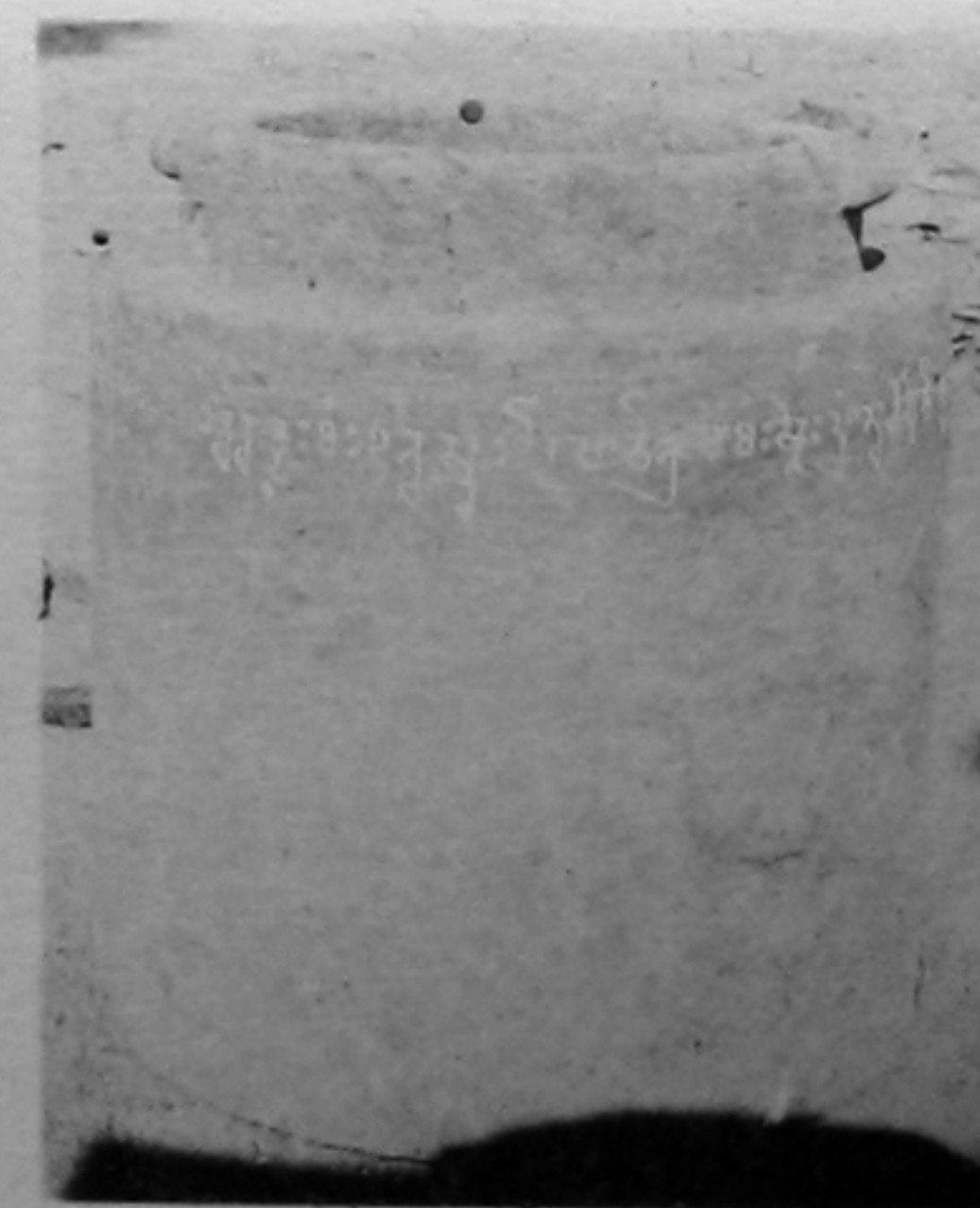
² For the Bodhisattva Maitreya in Burma, see *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Volume II, Part 1, June 1912, page 101.



(Fig. 1.) FRAGMENT OF AN INSCRIPTION FROM BAWBAWGYI PAGODA.



(Fig. 2.) FRAGMENT OF A VOTIVE TABLET.



(Fig. 3.) FUNERAL URN IN STONE.



(Fig. 4.) DIPANKARA.



(Fig. 5.) BUDDHA.



(Fig. 6.) AVALOKITESVARA.



(Fig. 7.)



(Fig. 8.)

(Figs. 7 & 8.) STONE BASINS OR TROUGHS FROM PEIKTHANOMYO.

8-9. Figure (ht. 2' 7" and 2' 5") of Buddha seated cross-legged on a lotus throne, with its left hand placed on its lap. The right hand rests with its back on the knee, holding a fruit. Opinions in Burma differ as to the meaning of this posture and the event in the Buddha's life which it is intended to represent; but I think it may be explained by a passage in the *Mahāvagga* found in the story of the conversion of Uruvela Kassapa and his thousand jaṭilas. It runs: *Atha Khō Uruvelakassapō jaṭilō tassā rattiyā achchayēna yēna Bhagavā ten' upasāṃkami, upasāṃkamitvā Bhagavatō kālaṃ ārochēsi: kālō, mahāsamaṇa, nīṭhitāṃ bhattan ti. Gachchha tvaṃ Kassapa, āyāma' ahan ti Uruvelakassapaṃ jaṭilaṃ uyyōjetvā yāya jambujāyaṃ Jambudīpō paṇṇāyati, tatō phalaṃ gahētvā paṭhamataraṃ āgantvā aggāgārē nisīdi* . . . etc.¹

"Then Uruvelakassapa, the jaṭila, at the end of that night went where the Bhagavā was; having approached him, he announced to him that it was time, saying "It is time, great samaṇa, the meal is ready." "Go you, Kassapa, I will follow you." Having thus dismissed Uruvelakassapa, the jaṭila, he went to the Jambu tree which has given its name to this continent (India) and plucked a fruit thereof; then, arriving before Kassapa he sat down in the room in which Kassapa's sacred fire was kept."² From this it may be inferred that the fruit held in the right hand is the Jambuphalam.

10. Figure of Buddha (ht. 2' 8") seated on a throne with back (ht. 5' 2") (see above, p. 144).

11. Figure (ht. 3' 7") of Buddha seated cross-legged in the *Bhūmisparśa* attitude on a throne. It is gilt and has a halo which has broken and has been detached from the main figure, and of which about one-half only, in two pieces, has been found. In the centre of the larger piece, in an oval formed by small dots, are three lines of inscription very much defaced and indistinct, but from one or two letters a little less damaged than the others, the alphabet seems to be in the Nāgarī script.

12. Figure (ht. 8") of a standing Avalokiteśvara with four arms, the left arm broken off above the elbow; the two feet are missing. (See pp. 144-145 above.)

IV. Terracotta tablets.

13-51. Tablets in the shape of a circular seal (diam. 1' 8") bearing the figure of Buddha seated cross-legged in the *Bhūmisparśa* attitude on a lotus throne. On each side are three little dots; but the image is much defaced, and it is impossible to distinguish what the dots were intended to represent. The whole figure except the throne is enclosed within three layers of oval shaped rings.

52-54. Oval shaped tablet pointed at one end (length 2' 5", breadth 1' 6") bearing the figure of Buddha seated cross-legged in the *Bhūmisparśa-mudrā* on a lotus throne. From the body issue forth, all round, flames of fire. This no doubt represents the second of the miracles performed by the Buddha for the conversion of Uruvelakassapa (*Vinaya Piṭakam*, Vol. I, p. 25). In the room where Kassapa kept his sacred fire there was a very powerful and venomous serpent (nāga) which, Kassapa was fearful, might harm the Buddha; but the latter entered the room, sat down and made flames issue from his body (*Bhagavāpi tejodhātum samāpajjivā pajjali*).³

55-70. Figure (ht. 3") of Buddha seated on a lotus throne cross-legged with the left foot, sole upwards, on the right one; in the right hand he is holding an alms-bowl, and the left hand rests on the knee; the left arm and shoulder are uncovered; at the back, a shrine.

71-151. Oval-shaped tablet (5" x 4.5") bearing the figure of Buddha seated cross-legged in the *Dharmachakra-mudrā* on a lotus throne with the back. Two prancing leogryphs, one on each side of the Buddha and facing sideways, support the spandril of the back of the throne. Below the figure there are three lines of inscriptions, but they are much defaced and are quite unintelligible.

152-236. Oval-shaped tablet (3.5" x 2.7") bearing the figure of Buddha seated cross-legged in the *Dharmachakra-mudrā* on a lotus throne with back. The back of the throne is decorated with makara heads which are supported by leogryphs standing on conchant elephants, each holding a lotus flower by its stalk in its trunk. The leogryphs are facing outwards.

¹ See the *Vinaya Piṭakam*, edited by H. Oidenberg, Vol. I, 29 *in fine*.

² Cf. *S. B. E.*, Vol. XIII, 227.

³ Cf. also, *S. B. E.*, Vol. XIII, p. 120, *Mahāvastu*, Vol. III, 429.

237-253. Oval-shaped tablet (3.8" × 2.8") containing the figure of Buddha seated cross-legged with the left hand placed on its lap and holding an alms-bowl, and the right hand pointing towards the earth, on a lotus surmounting a throne. The figures in the niches of the throne are absent. The *uttarasāṅgha*, or upper robe, leaves the right shoulder bare and is beautifully draped, reminding one of the Gandhara figures. The Buddha is crowned by a *hṭi*, and the back of the throne is ornamented with the usual device—Makara head supported by a leogryph standing over a rampant elephant which is holding a lotus bud by its stalk in its trunk. The leogryphs are facing outwards. A little above the leogryphs is the figure of a deva kneeling, with the hands clasped together, and worshipping the central figure.

254-340. Oval-shaped tablet (3.8" × 3.4") containing the figure of Buddha seated cross-legged in the *Dharmachakra-mudrā* on a lotus throne with back. Buddha is flanked by a lotus bud resting on its stalk which issues forth from behind the knee.

341-345. Oval-shaped tablet (2.6" × 2.1"). In the upper half and in the centre is Buddha seated cross-legged in the *dhyāna-mudrā* on lotus throne with back, and is crowned by a *hṭi*. It is flanked on either side by a figure with crowned head also seated cross-legged on a lotus. The left hand of the figure on the proper right, and the right hand of that on the proper left, of the Buddha, are brought up before the chest, while the other hand is resting on the lap, with the palm inwards, and on the left knee, respectively. On the outside of each of these two figures and close to the rim of the tablet is a small *chaitya*. In the lower half and in the centre is a throne which may be identified with the lion throne from the two small figures of lions in a sitting posture. It is supported on a lotus flower and flanked by two devas in the attitude of adoration also seated on lotus flowers, and by two small stupas also placed on lotus flowers, the stalks of which spring forth from beneath the lion.

346-392. Oval-shaped tablet (3" × 2"). The figures represented are the same as those on the tablets numbered 341-345 with the following difference. In the upper half, and in the lower half the two small stupas, are absent. Between the pilasters of the lion throne there is a circular figure—stamped—which cannot be well identified, being too much worn away, but it is not that of a lion. Below the lotus flower which supports the lion throne there is a figure of which only the two forelegs are visible.

393-422. Oval-shaped tablet (3.7" × 3") containing the same figures as depicted on the tablets numbered 152-236; but the leogryphs are facing in the ordinary way, i.e., sideways.

423-425. Oval-shaped tablet (4.5" × 3.6"). It is divided into three panels. In the uppermost panel, the central figure is Buddha seated cross-legged in the *Dharmachakra-mudrā* on a lotus throne. Buddha is flanked on his left side by two figures which, from their headdress, appear to be Bodhisattvas, and on his right, by two monks, all in the attitude of adoration. In the middle panel there is a symbolical wheel in the centre, flanked on its left by three figures which appear to be those of Bodhisattvas, and on the right by three monks in the same attitude as the ones above them. In the lowermost panel are deer in a forest.

426. Fragment of an inscribed terra-cotta tablet (see above pp. 142-143).

V. Funeral urns.

427. Fragments of an earthenware vessel containing star-shaped golden flowers, a golden ring and a bead, mixed with earth and charred bones.

APPENDIX B.

Other excavations at Hmawza.

Besides the Bawbawgyi Pagoda, excavations were undertaken at several other sites at Hmawza, but none of them yielded any interesting results, except in the neighbourhood of the Payagyi Pagoda, which forms a triad with the Bawbawgyi and Payama Pagodas.

"Two funeral urns in stone, with Pyu legends inscribed on them, were found at a distance of 210 feet to the south of the Payagyi Pagoda, at Hmawza. They are not of the same size. The bigger one measures three feet one and half inches in height, and one foot and ten inches in diameter. The smaller one measures two feet one inch in height, and one foot and five inches in diameter. The stone of which the urns are made, is hard and close grained, is of a grey colour, and is not found in the neighbourhood. The bigger one is on the left of the smaller, the left according to the Chinese being the side of honour. The bigger appears to have been rifled before, and contains nothing but red earth. The smaller contains white pebbles, bone-ash, and red earth. The urns apparently contain the ashes of a king and his queen. It is a curious custom, which is similar to that which is in vogue in Christian countries, of turning the sacred precincts of a pagoda into a cemetery. Both the urns are inscribed with legends in the Pyu character; and estampages of them were sent to Mr. C. O. Blagden, London, who has furnished this office with preliminary reports. He says that the new Pyu find is very important. Each inscription begins, after an introductory punctuation flourish, with the words *tā : ba :* meaning apparently "Sovereign Lord," or as we should say, "His Majesty the King." The name of the legendary Duttabaung of Śrī Kshetra may possibly be no more than the Pyu title in question. In the first part of each inscription occur the syllables *Vi kra ma*. These must be either part of the royal name or a reference to the *Vikrama* era. At present, there is little prospect of making a complete interpretation of both epigraphs, but if a few more such urns were found, the variants would, perhaps, enable us to see what was "common form," and what was individual statement of date, age, length of reign, name, and the like. One definite result seems, however, to emerge from the latest find (taken together with the previous ones in the same script). The language, whether we name it "Pyu," or what we please, which is used in these inscriptions, was a language of the district of Prome, and the language in which the ruling chiefs of that region had their funeral epitaphs set up. That is now an established fact; whereas, on the previous evidence alone, it was merely a reasonable hypothesis. In other words, prior to 1,000 A.D. there was between the Talaing states of the Delta and the Tenassarim side on the one hand, and the Burmese state of Pagan on the other, a third intervening nation with its centre at Prome, which was neither Burmese nor Talaing, but probably distantly related to the Burmese and representing an earlier wave of Tibeto-Burman immigration from the far North. It received its Hindu culture through the Talaings of the Delta, but for some centuries managed to keep itself practically independent of both its neighbours north and south, though it seems to have been occasionally overrun by the Talaings. The ancient floating "legends of an old kingdom at Prome" are, therefore, confirmed in a most remarkable manner by the epigraphic evidence now brought to light. Having regard to the very archaic characteristics of some of the letters of the "Pyu" alphabet, it would not be surprising if Indian civilization had reached Prome in the first, second or third century A.D.

"About a hundred years ago, King Bodawpaya ordered lithic inscriptions from various parts of the country to be collected at Amarapura. In that collection, an epigraph in the "Pyu" character was found, and estampages of it were submitted, for examination, to the Government Epigraphist and Mr. C. O. Blagden. The former scholar has replied as follows:—

"I have studied the impression and the photographs very closely and find that the language is foreign to me. The alphabet is, however, Indian and reminds one of the two inscriptions of Mahānīputa Purisdata from Jaggayapeta (in the Kistna District) published in Dr. Burgess's *Buddhist Stupa of Amaravati and Jaggayapeta*, page 110 and Pl. LXII and LXIII. The inscription may belong to about the fourth century A.D. Thus, the writing is older than the Maunggun gold plates assigned to the fifth century A.D. Both these records form an important link in the history of Burmese script, and it is interesting to note that the writing in both of them resembles the alphabet used in the Telugu country in the ancient time." It is a remarkable fact that the "Pyu" script has some affinity to ancient Telugu. Most probably, the "Pyu" received their letters, religion and civilization mainly from the Dravidians of the Telugu country.

"Near the outskirts of Peikthanomyo and also within the limits of the Pyudaik at Hmawza,

were discovered six stone basins or troughs (Figs. 4 and 5, Pl. II). They are fashioned out of some igneous rock which is not found in the neighbourhood or country itself. It is a dark blue in colour, is hard in texture, and is very close grained. Each basin is made up of two parts: the upper, which is circular, and is shaped like the inside of a Buddhist alms-bowl, and the lower, which is octagonal in form, and measures one foot and eight inches across. Each side of the octagon is two feet in length. There is a neck supporting the basin, which is six inches in height and two feet in diameter. There are no stands or plinths attached to the basins: they rest immediately on the bare ground. The problem for solution is the probable use to which these basins were put. They could scarcely have been used as receptacles of offerings made to the image of the Buddha, because they are not placed on an elevation, and because there are no remains of pagodas or temples in the vicinity. Nor could they have been used for the storage of water for drinking or bathing purposes either for men or beasts, because their capacity is extremely limited. The remarkable fact is that these basins are found in pairs, and are placed side by side. If they are not used in the Buddhist worship, could they have been connected with Hinduism? Could they have been dedicated to the use of the Hindu deities Siva and his consort Kali, or Vishnu and his consort Lakshmi? Mr. Taw Sein Ko is inclined to think that these huge stone basins formed, at one time, part and parcel of a Hindu temple, which being built of wood, has disappeared. The Hindu gods are supposed, at stated time, to retire to sleep, to get up from bed, and to perform ablutions. Could these basins have been used for the ablutionary ceremonies of the Hindu gods?"¹

APPENDIX C.

List of Finds at the other sites of excavation at Hmawza.

VI. *Finds from the Payagyi Pagoda.*

428-429. Funeral urns made of stone discovered at the South side of the Payagyi Pagoda (see above p. 148).

VII. *Finds from Pyudaik.*

430-437. Bricks with marks on them.

438. Jaw bones of a cow or a bullock.

VIII. *Finds from the Myaukzegu Pagoda.*

439-440 Bricks.

IX. *Finds from the Kyunbington near the Bawbawgyi Pagoda.*

441-442. Fragments of earthenware funeral urns containing charred bones found mixed with earth.

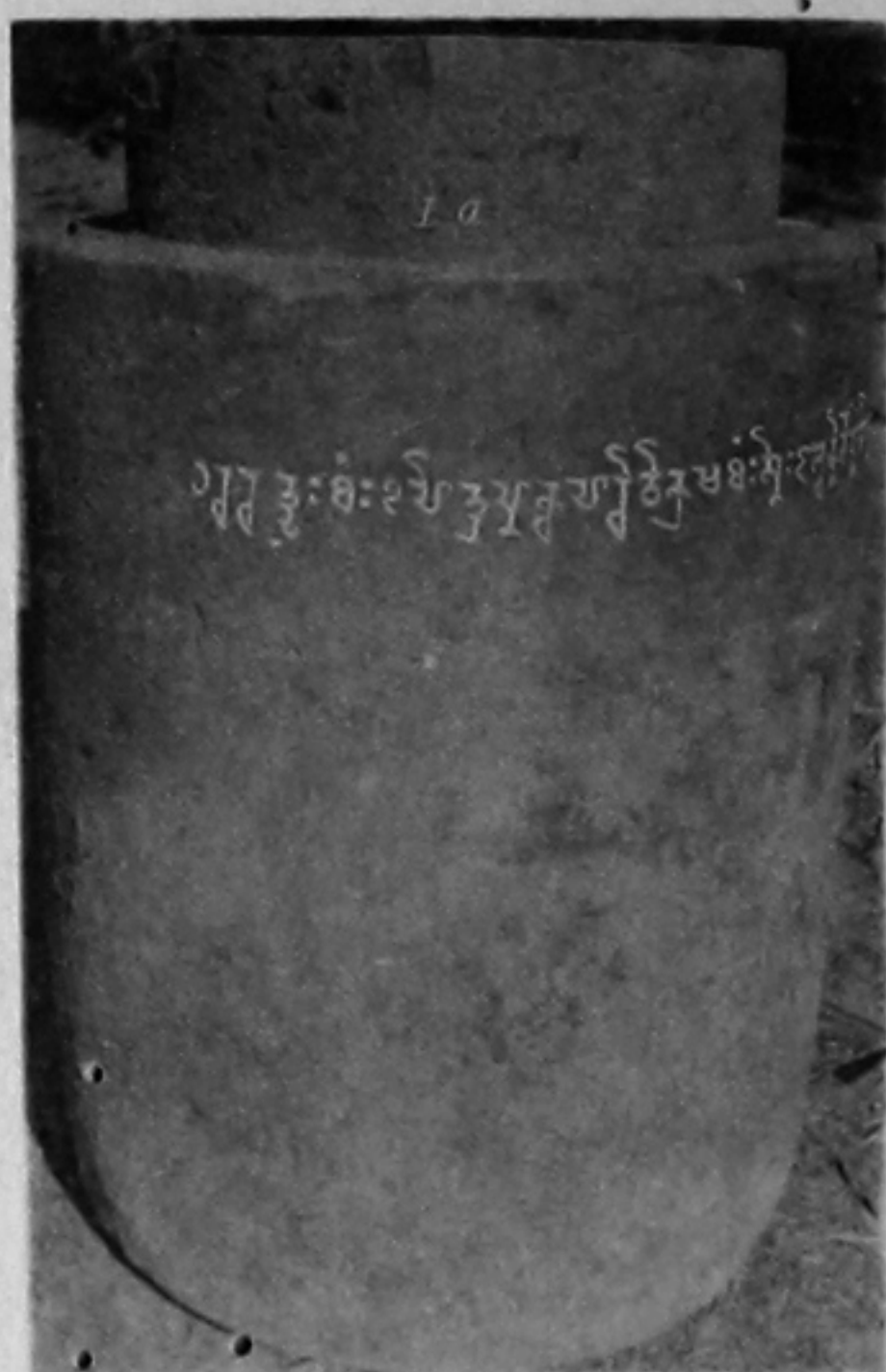
X. *Finds from the Tebingon near the Bawbawgyi Pagoda.*

443. Lid of earthenware funeral urn.

CHAS. DUROISELLE.

¹ Report of the Supdt., Archæological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1912, pp. 11-13.

THE HLEDAUK PAGODA AND ITS RELICS.



(Fig. 1.) FUNERAL URN
IN STONE FROM THE
BAWBAWGYI PAGODA,
HMAWZA.



(Fig. 2.)
SMALL STUPA
PLATED
WITH SILVER.



(Fig. 3.) THE SAME,
WITH SIKHARA REMOVED.



(Fig. 4.) A GROUP OF FIGURES REPRESENTING THE PRINCIPAL SCENES IN THE
LIFE OF BUDDHA.



(Fig. 5.) THE HLEDAUK PAGODA, NYAUNG-GON VILLAGE.